

Ethnoregional-Neopatrimonialism and its Challenge to Liberal Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Sierra Leone

Emmanuel Vincent Nelson Kallon

シエラレオネにおける部族地域主義的な新家産制と 紛争後リベラル平和構築の課題

エマニュエル・ヴィンセント・ネルソン・カロン

要 旨

本稿は紛争後シエラレオネにおける自由主義的な平和構築（liberal peacebuilding 以下、自由主義平和構築）が抱える課題を明らかにする上で、新たな分析枠組みとして新家産制論及び部族地域主義、双方の概念を統合した部族地域主義的な新家産制論を提示し、理論のさらなる展開を試みる。この分析枠組みを用いることで本稿は異質性や部族地域主義的な新家産制に基づく慣習から成る政治体制を有するシエラレオネ社会で実践される自由主義平和構築がもたらす課題を説明する。

シエラレオネにおける部族地域主義的な新家産制とは結合した部族・地域アイデンティティが国家の構造及びガバナンスの様態を形づくる現象を指す。国家の下層部ないしはヒエラルキーの周縁部を構成するこれらアイデンティティはヒエラルキーの上部に位置する政治的エリート及びパトロンの行動様式を規定する。

本稿はシエラレオネを事例とし、上述の現象がどのように政治的排除や地域境界・部族境界の先鋭化をもたらし、結果として国家の政治的アカウンタビリティや制度的正統性、国家統一ならびに開発の進展を妨げ、政治的暴力が再発する土壌を形成し得るかを分析する。これを踏まえ、自由主義に基づく平和構築論の概念的な課題を指摘しながら、当該国における自由主義平和構築を実践する上での限界を説明する。

キーワード：部族地域主義的な新家産制、シエラレオネ、リベラル平和構築、紛争後平和構築、アイデンティティ



Contents

1. Introduction
2. Conceptual Debates on Liberal Peacebuilding
3. Outline of the Theoretical Framework
4. Construction of Mende & Temne Ethnic-Regional Identity in Historical Context
5. How the Mende and Temne Ethnic & Regional Identity Construction Solidified in Post-independence National Politics, 1961-2018
6. International Post-conflict Liberal Peacebuilding Intervention in Sierra Leone
7. Overview of Ethnoregional-Neopatrimonial Practice in Sierra Leone
8. Conclusion.

1. Introduction

The leitmotif of this study explains how the use of identities in heterogenous societies, specifically ethnic and regional identity challenges and thwarts the consolidation of post-conflict liberal peacebuilding approaches. Thus, the central question is whether the theory of liberal post-conflict peacebuilding is viable in Africa? Or why did the liberal democratic peacebuilding approaches that were intended to establish durable peace in Sierra Leone turn out to make the country more divided along ethnic and regional patterns?. Political system in many African countries and beyond has continued to be intrinsically seen as a lucrative enterprise exceptionally situated towards the personal aggrandizement of a few in societies than its assumed purposeful role of tackling national societal challenges. This practice implies that, access to the political power of the state concomitantly have empowered access to the economic mitochondria of a set of people or group in the state over other adherents, and the resurgence of identity appeared to be centrally placed in this configuration than had ever before.

Addressing the above stated central claims and questions of this study, this essay develops the concept “ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism” to describe the political practice in Sierra Leone where extreme re-emergence of ethnic and regional identities, have become taken for granted as an important political capital consolidated in the main superstructure of the political system, particularly in the post-conflict era from 2002 to 2018 (Fridy & M’Cormack-Hale, 2011; Keese, 2016: 2-3; Kandeh, 1992). Therefore, the pattern, nature, and practice of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism provide a unique compelling foundation to argue that, the theory of liberal post-conflict peacebuilding in Sierra Leone contingent more profoundly on liberal electoral democratization and institutional building and consolidation, has largely remained challenge and its consolidation considered as an impracticable project in the country. Its reintroduction has opened a complex situation where docile identities not only seen being revitalized, but in large contestation.

Ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism is a phenomenon predicated on an adversarial political system prominently established in the practices of electoral democratic and governance patterns in a heterogeneous society (Cammack et al., 2007; Raleigh, 2014; Cederman, Wimmer, & Min, 2010). As a conceptual framework, ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism is where ethnic and regional identities inherent in the state are taken as the main political capital to shape and inform the governance superstructure of the country. In this conception, ethnic and regional identities situated at the bottom layer of

the state or periphery empower the clientele to regulate the political behavioral patterns of the political elites or patrons of the heterogeneous state. This practice implies that, it is not always political elites or patrons that strategically and wholesomely regulate the clientele patronage structure at the periphery of the society, as typically explains in the framework of neopatrimonial political thought. Also, it is by no means the clientele in an absolute term, but it is through the utilization of identity that is politically salient and lies at the periphery where the clientele is fully established. It is this pattern that crystallized ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism that becomes situated in the political superstructure of the state. Thus, this practice is the pattern that has re-emerged in the politics of post-conflict Sierra Leone where unbridled quest to access the political and economic resources have been shaped.

As stated above, this theorization particularly focuses on identity as the main unit of analysis and more importantly, how its construction, framing, and its strategic utilization within the general peripheral level of the society impacts and regulates the political superstructure and governance within the society where liberal peacebuilding has been concentrated. In Sierra Leone, like most post-independence Africa countries, on taken over the political self-independence, ethnoregional salience was a well-founded phenomenon that became associated with the political regimes in historic context (Roessler, 2013). Specifically, in Sierra Leone, its escalating nature became almost redundant from the 1970s to early 1990s. This was largely because of the one-party political climate, and a more substantiating evidence of this effect was conspicuous during the 1991 civil war which continued for eleven years but there was no connection of ethnic undertones.

However, from 1996 when multiparty democracy was reintroduced again at the level of national politics, ethnoregionalism and patterns of neopatrimonial politics incrementally re-emerged. Its emergence at this preliminary stage was very uncoordinated and disjointed in patterns, and because of the civil war its mobilization did not yield commanding impacts on the political space other than its foundation firmly reshaped. However, with the advent of 2002 when the war was declared over beckoning the official starts of post-conflict era, political competition became uncompromisingly divided between the SLPP Political Party of mainly the South-East that comprise the Mende speaking ethnic group, and the APC Political Party of the North-West region chiefly dominated by the Temne-Limba ethnic group. This profound ethnoregional fanaticism re-interacted with the nascent political practice that engendered a patterned this study coined as “ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism,” and has remained centrally situated in the political structure of Sierra Leone. This pattern, as this study argues, has not only scuttled the consolidation of genuine liberal post-conflict peacebuilding in the country conceived could lead to development and stability, but has made the practice not compelling and viable.

The theory of liberal post-conflict peacebuilding internationalism emerged more prominently in the post-cold war era, appropriated as one of the suitable mechanisms in the international system for intervention into protracted intra-state conflicts and in post-conflict countries to reconstruct a modern state archetype that enhances stability and boost development. The emergence of the notion of Human Security in the United Nation Development Report of 1994, including its seven core elements viz “political, economic, community, food, personal, health and environmental security,” and the “Responsibility to Protect,” have both been a part of the embodiment of international liberal peacebuilding in this regard (Shinoda, 2004; Human Development Report, 1994; Bellamy & Dunne, 2016:3-14). International liberal peacebuilding intervention focuses on creating liberal democratic space that empowers peoples’ rights for an independent political decision-making process. Through liberal democratic existence, political participation in the form of periodic electioneering processes empowers the citizenry to form government of their choices and to have maximum participation and national representation. Therefore, it has been believed that such practices would gear towards safeguarding the needs of the society, hence, such international

framework conceived as hallmark that could create the foundation for an enduring stability in conflict and post-conflict societies.

Also, institutional building is at the core of liberal peacebuilding theory. Proponents of this conception have argued that, societies emerging from civil war must adopt an institutional building Which are predicated on liberal values and that through the crystallization of liberal institutions such conflict or post-conflict society would hardly relapse into subsequent warfare (Paris, 2004). International liberal peacebuilding also emphasizes on creating a strong private economic environment, the neoliberal economic approach, in which the state power into the economic activities is reduced and through such means these societies would experience economic improvements, as viable development in the economic sector of post war states assures their stability. These approaches are instructive, and have remained centrally placed in liberal peacebuilding operations in recuperating stability in post-conflict societies.

In Sierra Leone, liberal peacebuilding engagement such as security sector reform, the re-institutionalization of the rule of law, electoral democracy, governance, and development aid etc., were areas of typical intervention during the peacebuilding intervention in Sierra Leone (Lemay, 2013; Richmond & Franks, 2009, Richard, 2012:8, Tom, 2017). The case of Sierra Leone in this context is therefore, remarkably instructive for research because many accounts have now considered the country as a successful case of international liberal peacebuilding intervention (Bindi & Tufekci, 2018), particularly on account of the four successive electoral processes that have been occasioned in the country without it degenerated into recurrent civil warfare. Nonetheless, profound prevailing and pertinent data between 2007 to 2018 in Sierra Leone have proven contrary to what many conceived as a successful liberal post-conflict peacebuilding state.

There appeared a systemic resurgence of severe exclusionary political pattern, chronic institutional instability, recurrent political electoral violence and most importantly, an atmosphere of chronic underdevelopment at a considerable scale. While these factors have remained recurrent and systemic, this work asserts that ethnoregional-neopatrimonial conceptual framework is applicable and compelling in answering the central questions to this study, particularly as Gunther Roth opined that if the “dilemma of political situation of a country is not understood that may lead to it redress, all other interventions might merely be a waste of time” (Roth, 1968: 194).

In strengthening ethnoregional-neopatrimonial framework, this study also builds on existing frameworks such as path dependent and institutional layering (Capoccia, 2016; Thelen, 2003:226-228; Hall, 2016) to effectively established what David Hume called “constant conjunction” in causation analysis (see Beach & Pedersen, 2013:24). The study is not oblivious also of other social explanatory concepts that could be used in the analysis of this given situation. Nonetheless, ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism is developed to uncover and explain Sierra Leone’s phenomenon particularly the intersection between ethnic and regional identities conflated within the contested limited access to resources in the seemingly interactive process of political social change.

In the following sections, section two briefly examines the conceptual debates on liberal peacebuilding. This is followed by an overview of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism as the newly generated theoretical framework of this study analyze in section three. Section four focuses on how ethnic and regional identity construction between the Mende and Temne emerged during the pre-colonial era in Sierra Leone. Moreover, section five analyzed how the ethnic and regional identities between the Mende and Temne ethnic group became solidified in the national politics during the decolonization period. In section six, the study looks at how international liberal peacebuilding was operationalized in the country. Section seven as one of the fulcrums of this essay explains the pattern and practice of ethnoregional-neopatrimonial political system in the post war

period in Sierra Leone, and finally section eight ends with the conclusion.

2. *Conceptual Debates on Liberal Peacebuilding*

Liberal Peacebuilding as it has been termed, remains one of the post-cold war orders that aspire to rebuild concrete political and economic governance systems in conflict and post conflict nation-states. Beyond this ambition, and in particular the challenges that have sprouted in war-battered countries where liberal peacebuilding is implemented, unabated theoretical debates among scholars on its ontology and methodological frameworks remain a commonplace (Tadjbakhsh, 2011:1-12). This emerged debates on liberal peacebuilding can be categorized into “critical and problem-solving schools of thought” (Lemay, 2013). This section has examined a few of these debates with an identification of a key shortcoming characterized in these scholarly debates. Therefore, the essay emphasizes that the fundamental liberal peacebuilding challenges particularly in many intra-state post conflict countries deeply require a historical appreciation of the importance of particular social structural phenomena evolutionary patterns. It implies the appreciation of a phenomenon at a critical juncture period in the historical past of the country and how such phenomenon has been institutionally layered over time and space to become a taken for granted culture and pattern of that society. This perspective, it is expected, would provide compelling understanding in deeply conceptualizing the concrete and deep-rooted dilemma of liberal peacebuilding as the context of Sierra Leone indicates.

Indeed, international liberal peacebuilding processes have been questioned by critical and problem-solving scholars in variety of instances. From the critical perspective, Oliver Richmond (2011) questions the ontology of liberal peacebuilding framework and viewed its current paradigm as a major dilemma of post conflict peacebuilding agenda. Understood as an approach to uproot the drivers of conflict (Chetai, 2009: 1-28), Oliver Richmond observed that one of the major gaps of liberal peacebuilding is its characterization of westernized unidirectional approach which has not placed highly the local perspective into peacebuilding context, which he argues as a major gap in the methodological approach (Richmond, 2011). Richmond noted that local ownership is integral...and therefore, its insensitive nature in the methodological approach of liberal peacebuilding renders the project “insensitive, parochial, narrow and largely complacent,” in nature (Richmond, 2011: 1. Also see Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013: 763-783).

Moreover, to many liberal peacebuilding is merely a creation of a pendulum where the intervened states would remain always powerless. David Chandler (2006), furthering this conception employed phrases such as “Empire in Denial” and “Phantom State,” to demonstrate this, for instance. He specifically argued that state-building has genuinely become futile in the enhancement of the capacity of the intervened countries, and such interventions are engendering situations in which such states would remain caught up in a weak and dependency net (Ibid). For Edward Newman (2009: 49-50), liberal peacebuilding approach is a form of value imposition from the center to the periphery, and such practice noted Newman, strongly seats, resonates, and serves the interest of the center than the intervened societies. As a critical international theory, Newman further specified that the centrality of peoples’ wellbeing as a vital pillar for peace and serenity is not the primacy of liberal peacebuilding, and that the model does not advance the promotion of earnest “open political discourse” (Ibid).

Furthermore, like Susanna Campbell (2011: 89-102) underscored the organizational paradox of liberal peacebuilding as a phenomena dilemma, especially merging its antiquated modus operandi along with some of its latest mode which and jointly implemented in a post-conflict situation and expecting to achieve a nuanced outcome, Michael Barnett (2016: 23-37)

on his part characterized liberal peacebuilding as paternalistic in nature (Ibid: 97). Barnett opined that liberal peacebuilding is locked in a particular hegemonic ideological construct, with an established tailored approach that completely compromises fundamental values in the intervened states such as “legitimacy, consent, and therefore, is largely undemocratic, ineffective, impositional, and coercive in nature.”

Conversely, from the problem-solving perspective, Roland Paris (2004), one of the main proponents of liberal peacebuilding advanced the idea of institutionalization before liberalization model during liberal peacebuilding, which he argued could address the inherent local complications in conflict and post conflict societies. Paris argument emphasized the intervention of a liberal peacebuilding model that prioritizes state institutional building, specifically formal institutions before other pillars such as democratic elections and marketization for instance, are occasioned. Also, merging the local and international perspectives to addressed local-external relations, Roger Mac-Ginty (2010: 391-412; see Mac-Ginty, 2011) whilst criticizing the fundamental expectations that underline liberal peace argued on the concept of hybrid peace. Without absolutely positioning massive criticisms or emboldening liberal concept, Roger Mac-Ginty argued that liberal peace building conundrum (local and external actors) could be surmounted in post conflict countries by the amalgamation of the power of local and external actors at the level of peacebuilding interventions. This practice, as asserted would therefore provide space for external actors to exercise and apply coercion to ensure acquiescence or lay out inducement strategies to pursue compliance, on one hand, and the local actors could be at liberty to choose to comply with specific elements of peacebuilding paradigms, and can also unilaterally oppose to seek alternative options, on the other (See Nicolas: 2013).

Beyond the power structures between local and external factors, Hideaki Shinoda (2008) argued on the platform of viewing local ownership as an “intermediary” between international intervenors and domestic actors. As intermediary, Shinoda argued that the approach could subsume only practices from local and international perspectives that are implicitly deemed as appropriate for utilization. This approach, as argued would forestall or significantly mitigate potential fallouts in the peacebuilding process that might otherwise be seen as purely westernized or locally infused agenda. Whilst the intermediary paradigm can refute the apparent complications that often remain to be seen as tension between locals and intervenors, nonetheless, the level at which it overcomes underlying societal barriers that are deeply of integral interest to actors at the local level would be challenging, especially on issues of vested interest where compromises are to be made on issues that happen to constitute the hidden niche of local political actors.

In conclusion, whilst both the critical and problem-solving scholars recognized the essence of states and local phenomenon in which liberal peacebuilding occurs, yet, the role identity plays along a specific pattern within political processes as the underlying social structural phenomenon is instructive for inquiry and its appreciation uniquely reveals a deep challenge to liberal peacebuilding in a certain post-conflict environment such as Sierra Leone. Identity issue in recent political history across the world is now one of the main political capital built on for claim making processes, and in heterogeneous societies where the political superstructure and practices are informed and modeled along this pattern, liberal peacebuilding with electoral democratization as its key component becomes not only an impracticable project, but provides a highly contested milieu within out-group identity relations. With pertinent data, Sierra Leone presents a typical phenomenon of this pattern. But how has identity formation in societies or its creation discussed in the academic literature and how its conceptualization considered in this study remains instructive, in that, it shapes discussion towards the appreciation of where does liberal peacebuilding intervention seats in a complex heterogeneous society where liberal universalism is to be established.

Notably, liberal post-conflict peacebuilding foundation is characterized mainly by democracy promotion, marketize economic enhancement and state institutional restructuring (Newman, Paris and Richmond, 2009: 1). This is essentially built on the notion that feeble and immature states in the globalized world could be a fundamental jeopardy to the overall safety of the international system, more particularly in the aftermath of post-cold war (Futamura, Newman & Tadjbakhsh, 2010:2; Fukuyama, 2004. see Robert Jackson, 1990). Particularly in transitioning countries from intra-state war to peace, liberal peacebuilding is conceived of producing democratic practice and institutional reform as linchpin that enhances peace where accountability, free press and space for the role of civil society to flourish, as considered necessity for societal stability (Ozerdem & Lee, 2016; Hoove & Scholtback, 2008; Paris, 2004, Diamond, 1999. See Gezim Visoka, 2016:21-24). Countries such as those accommodating electoral competitiveness and effective governance style, with the existence of a rule of law, are considered to be in democratization that guarantees peace (Baliga, Lucca & Sjoström, 2011; Call & Cook, 2003). As a hallmark of democratic liberal peacebuilding, competitive electoral processes among all actors is sanctioned as a guarantee of participation and decision making, where individual choices informed the governance pattern, and the protection and promotion of fundamental civil and political human rights (Buchan, 2013; Paris, 2014). Apparently, such theoretical orientation it has been believed would accelerate an inclusive, effective and efficient governance system built on the platform of national interest, hence, liberal peacebuilding considered as apt for post-conflict situations. This context is reflected even more broadly in the Brahimi report of 2000, which characterized peacebuilding as “activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundation of peace and provide the tools for building on those foundations something that is more than just the absence of war” (United Nations Brahimi report, 2000:3). Nonetheless, as Mahmood Mamdani (2001:663) indicated, in democracy which has now widely been acclaimed “...is not just about who governs and how they are chosen... it is about how they govern, the institutions through which they govern, and the institutional identities by and through which they organize different categories of citizens.” From this perspective it implies that, as liberal post-conflict peacebuilding largely depends on governance pattern of the intervened state that is oriented towards democratic values, thus, its success hinges on the societal structural practices of those societies upon which its success must be measured.

Generally, societies are been constituted of people with varied social categories. Social categories, as often referenced by James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin (2000: 847-848), are phenomenon membership of societies cherishes. These social categories have specific binding principles that specify who belongs to what identity and who do not, and have become uniquely accompanied by practices or belief system invigorated by obligations. It is therefore, natural for the differentiation of social categories to exist, but how they come to be arrogated by individuals to make them part of a particular membership are argued along different contexts. This form the identity discourse as the core of this study. In the primordialist and essentialist school of thoughts, categories of identities are considered as innate, natural and distinctive that always differentiates them from others, and hold the views that they are immutable, and these social identical categories profoundly have impacts on the behavioral patterns of the people that possess them (Shils, 1957; Geertz, 1963; Smith, 1986; Kashima, 2004). From constructivists perspective, identity is merely an outcome of social construction as a social phenomenon by actors within societal settings driven largely along distinctive interests based (Fearon & Laitin, 2000). Fearon (1999) and Peter J. Burke & Jan E. Stets (2009: 3-17), observed that “identity is merely a sense people arrogates to themselves on account of the specific circumstance they found themselves,” hence, establishing the argument that identity is indeed mutable.

This argument agrees with Charles Tilly’s boundary activation and deactivation analyses which is associated with

economic, political or exogenous realities of the social world within which social actors exist (Tilly, 2005). In their perspectives, constructivists James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin (2000:847-848) on the discourse of social construction of identity referenced what they called “Everyday Primordialism,” to imply how people over time and space have inaccurately taken identity as a naturally given phenomenon rather than conceived it as a product of actors’ creation. In a more historic context, Emile Durkheim (1893) in his work: “The Division of Labour in Society,” specified that identity creation in ancient time at traditionalize societies was made possible through the primacy of traditional practices and homogeneity, that did serve as pivot on which collective consciousness among people was reached. According to Durkheim this created an ambience for the inclination of identity among people. Additionally, Emile Durkheim used the word mechanic solidarity to specify that incorporation and cohesion emerged from the feeling of sameness among these inhabitants in those earliest societies. From the modernist perspective, Ernest Gellner (1983:40; 2006) indicated that identity formation is a product of modern creation, which he argued that the period saw a revision of seemingly existed sense of attachments to resonate with the realities that was emerging during the modern era, which constituted the new strand of identity.

African countries in which liberal peacebuilding is largely situated is largely engrained in phenomenon linked with social identities ranging from tribes, geography, political attachment, culture, and Pattern of orientation etc. As noted by Byron G. Adams and Fons J. R. Van de Vijver (2017), “social group association nurtures the sense of belonging and is a demonstrative attachment to something greater than self... and as a result, individuals get themselves located into a certain group of people with whom they share similarities and distinguish them as a group from others” (Also see Jean S. Phinney, 2000). This form of superficial social construction and attachment is a commonplace in many countries located in Africa. Francis M. Deng (1997), noted that African societies operate intricate pattern founded on “tribes, lineage and family from within which notion of culturality, ethnicity and linguistic became visible and these have been the based through which political, social and economic interactions were built.” Moreover, Deng mentioned that the over centralization that was experienced during the colonial era uprooted those original patterns of the indigenous surviving pattern. Thus, such centrality through which means of survival came to be built within resulted into severe competition that phenomenally obstructed identity relations in Africa, where for instance competition for scarce resources have become a commonplace among identities. He added that with the instabilities in Africa, both ethnic salience and regional identity profoundly provides an instructive explanation. Also, as different social categories in Africa appear complex, the national identity of many of the countries have long been undermined. In his work, Elliott Green (2017) with data from some Sub-Saharan Africa countries argued that, national identity manifestation of many African states is contingent on the particular group at a time controlling the state power. Green added that, the group that controls the state power often associate itself more profoundly with the feeling of national identity and belonging, however, once out of power such allegiance waned and is repositioned towards ethnic group salience other than national identity. While power politics remain integral in this identity phenomenon, ethnoregional identity becomes salience in many African states, particularly in instance where the regional actors recognize vast disproportionate access of power and resources to their locations, such ramification have invariably become the source of instability or claim making for secession or for self-rule as an independent state (Mozaffar & Scarritt, 2013). According to Catherine Boone (2007), in the history of Africa the network of ethnic political relations was something that was firmly established in the organization setup and governance practice of many countries in Africa. This practice Boone argues, gave rise to the emergence and salience of an ethnoregionalized political pattern as such pattern did control apparent struggles within localities. Nonetheless, Catherine Boone argued that, in the wake of the new trend of economic breadth those prior approaches to amalgamation has

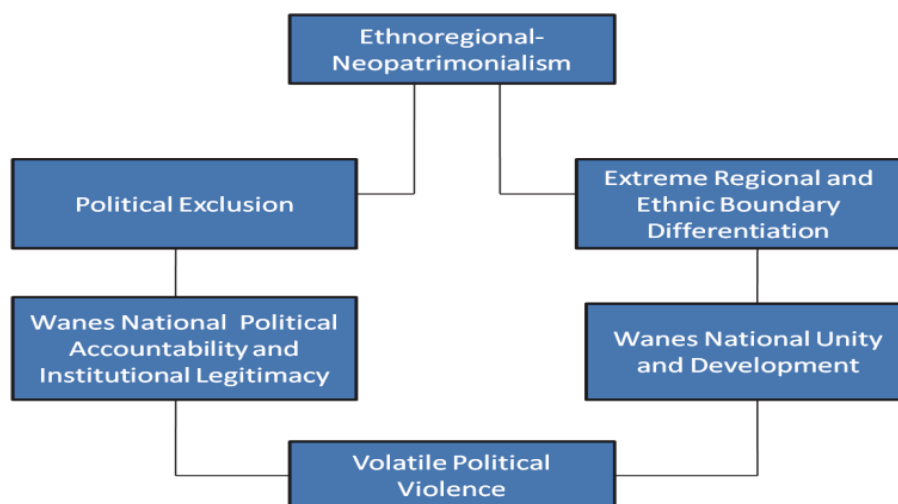
waned and therefore, what has appeared is a regional political struggle gear towards strengthening power at a subgroup level within these countries. For Anders Sjogren (2015), the “concurrent contestation over sub-national differentiation, political identities and the locus of authority has stimulated regional politics,” (Also see Walter G. NKwi, 2006).

In this identity discussion, it would fundamentally be seen that it has been a part of what forms society and it is important in state societal analysis. Thus, it is considered as an analytical and conceptual gap in the mentioned conceptual reviewed on liberal peacebuilding debates. To deeply take forward the understanding of liberal peacebuilding and its consolidation in post-conflict countries requires our understanding of what underlay certain societal formations and patterns. This essay calls this phenomenon “ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism in the senses that Sierra Leone is largely established along this ethnic and regional pattern and it gives a broader context of why liberal peacebuilding practicability remains a challenge in the country. In the next section, the study presents the analytical framework of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism, building on previous literatures on how ethnoregional and neopatrimonialism which have not been combined in existing literature, have been analyzed. This study also argues that combining these two frameworks as done in this study to explain case study of Sierra Leone on one hand, provides an original contribution to the academic scholarship and on the other, it expounds understanding on how this combination could provide an intersection for the appreciation of identities from culturalist perspective and interest, and from rationalist viewpoint.

3. *Outline of the Theoretical Framework*

This study develops ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism as an analytical framework which explains political practice where ethnic and regional identities define, informed and shape the governance structure and pattern of a given nation-state. In this ethnoregional-neopatrimonial conceptual construction, it is identities that are paramount and the unit of analysis. These identities are situated at the bottom layer of the state structure or periphery in a hierarchical order that empowers the clientele to regulate the actions of the political elites or patrons at the top-level of the hierarchical order of heterogeneous state. Ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism goes beyond mere political alignment and favoritism which are ordinarily contingent on patron-client relationship, and it is also beyond the mere ordinary ethnic affiliations. It incorporates largely both ethnic and regional identical attitude used as tools firmly established in the mainstream political structure of the state and jointly becomes a cornerstone to be operated on against ethnic and regional others.

This concept of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism stresses that what informs neopatrimonial political system in an ethnoregionally salient society goes beyond the view of the top-down trend of patronage structure. But, it is a special social mechanism that hinges on constructed identity in the lower hierarchical structure of the society. This phenomenon is the foundation within which over time and space those who emerge as political actors are socialized, graduated from and continue to be a part of onto transcending to the political center. This pattern therefore, produces particular features in an ethnically regionalized society that results to severe boundary maintenance. Over time, such practice becomes a taken for granted political socialization and culture in the political superstructure of the state, where excessive penchant for economic access in the scarce economic opportunity of the state is over enthusiastic. The outcomes of this pattern of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism in the political governance structure of the state are forces, as showcase in table one below which are incompatible to liberal post-conflict peacebuilding paradigm, liberal peace that could be understood from a holistic and sustained nature.

Table 1: Features of Ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism.

The diagram as stated above, summarized patterns engendered from the practice of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism. This diagram is deciphered through a top-down approach. Concept of Ethnoregional-Neopatrimonialism engenders two main outcomes (a) political exclusion; and (b) hardening of extreme ethnic and regional boundary differentiation. The outcome of these two factors is volatile and recurrent political violence. As stated in the diagram, an uncompromising framing of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism in the politics breeds political exclusion and reinforces profound ethnic and ethnoregional differentiation. With the existence of these two outcomes, they create an atmosphere where national political accountability and institutional legitimacy become not only compromised that becomes characterized by impunity but, produce a fundamental dilemma for an actual social political change in society.

Also, such combined political atmosphere undermines national unity and the pursuance of cohesive development. It creates an ambiance of an intense violent confrontation and probable symptoms that become more pronounced during electioneering period. This pattern gives rise to violent out-group mobilization and violent political confrontation to become eminent, particularly in a heterogenous society whose political environment followed practices of traditionalized ideologies. It has been of a common pattern between 2002 and 2018 in all elections conducted, a period considered as a post-conflict era when state resources appeared left in the hands and controlled mainly by the domestic political actors. As Aforementioned, the unit of this analysis is identity, and identity is a cultural practice taken for granted as pattern of political socialization in an ethnoregionally salient neopatrimonial political system. This is a vital dilemma where liberal peacebuilding is expected to be rooted in the political culture of the state, and where differentiation is considered as an uncompromised practice. Moreover, the concept and utilization of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism in this study has its origin from two different concepts. It derives from neopatrimonialism and ethnoregionalism, which their autonomous detailed scholarship in previous literatures has both situated causal explanation that has been characteristic of traditionalized form of state system that appears inconsistent with modern state internationalism. Expounding on ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism as an original framework or concept for this analysis, it is integral to locate within how previous literatures have dealt separately with neopatrimonialism and ethnoregionalism to mitigate the challenge of falsifiability of this study. Also, the inadequacy of an ethnoregional construct in situating causal explanatory relevance on political power personalization in societies, and

the inadequacy of neopatrimonialism to provide a compelling causal explanation on the interplay of ethnic and regional identity element of state's political system, made their combination in this study into one conceptual framework a unique contribution to scholarship.

The word "Neo" in Neo-patrimonialism was coined by Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt (1973) to differentiate between modern traditional forms of regimes from previous traditionalized governance patterns (Bach, 2012: 24-26). Neo-patrimonialism, as asserted by Eisenstadt is the modern type of political governance system with legal-rational authority more advanced from the existed patrimonial traditionalize pattern of regimes. However, Eisenstadt noted, the system tolerates some patterns of traditionalize patrimonial characteristics such as the difficulty in distinguishing between public and private space in the political process (Ibid). Thus, Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt conceptualized this fusion of the government of legal-rational authority with practices marred by continued features of patrimonial system as a neopatrimonialism political system (Ibid, 25).

Neo-patrimonialism is the practice in a governance system wherein legal-bureaucratic norms of the state and its pillars operate concomitantly with some characteristics largely founded on traditionalize patrimonial practice (Bach, 2012: 28; Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997: 61-62). Moreover, Michael Bratton and Nicolas Van De Walle noted that neopatrimonialism is a system in which the sustenance and utilization of power by heads of state is informed on interpersonal relations as opposed to adherence to the dictates of laid down jurisprudence (Bratton and Van de Walle, 1994: 457-459). Bratton and De-Walle also maintained that, the "relationship that runs through a neopatrimonial system of governance is contingent on loyalty and dependency of the bottom to the top (Ibid). Also, according to Daniel C. Bach the space between private and public in neopatrimonial system is diametrically blurred in which often a time public interest is monopolistically personalized by state actors, and converts the dominant power they possessed into resources mainly for establishing interpersonal relations such as client's support ... to entrenched personal rule (Bach, 2012: 25- 44).

The work of Christopher Clapham (1985:45-59) "Third World Politic," referenced neopatrimonialism particularly as a phenomenon of developing state, where evidence of patrimonial pattern is inherent within association and is permeated both within the political and bureaucratic settings that blur actual rule-based climate. Clapham (1985:49) also noted that neopatrimonialism is a feature of ethnic society where fidelity between or in kingship is uncompromised as their strong "social value," and particularly in a multicultural environment it is through one's identity that recognition is couched, hence, the reason for the continued practice of neopatrimonialism in societies. The practice of neopatrimonialism and its pattern is also clinically theorized by Diana Cammack (2007), in the work titled: "The Logic of African Neopatrimonialism: the role of donors." Cammack opined that in neopatrimonial states transactions that habitually occasioned between the top and the established patronage structure are based not on national interest but on certain "particularistic" desire. And state institutions, Cammack noted, are weak in such state practice because major decisions are adopted in an informal structure than in the established bureaucratic structures. Dianna Cammack (2007) further highlighted that in the practice of a neopatrimonial style system, transformation is always seen as abhorrent, especially when it runs counter to the agenda of the big man, and often time leadership of such state would hardly desire to quit the political space particularly given the limited available resources outside of the political realm. Dianna Cammack (2007) also reiterated that those outside such political system who yearn for change are not merely doing so because they genuinely want it happens, but they do so because their own share of the political resources seems not forthcoming. Neopatrimonialism, Cammack argued, breeds an atmosphere where political messages are skewed in favor of the political personalities than on tangible policies. Also, she noted, state security

institutions become a regime protector in such political practice than towards service to the state. Cammack also asserted that in neopatrimonial system “civil society are usually transformed into briefcase NGOs” followed by state accountability scuttled because of the prevalence of an excessive centripetal power control, and the frequent aggression against the rights of citizens becomes rife (Ibid, 605).

Similarly, Eric Budd (2004) in his work testing the supposition on the correlation between “patrimonialism and economic growth and democracy,” concluded that state characterized by patrimonial tendencies would undermine the country’s financial decision production based because they are always tailored along particularistic considerations, a process that thwarts cohesive national economic interest. Also, Budd stated that in patrimonial society is where only a few people considered to be associate who always makes decisions and such decisions are often devoid of integrative character, a pattern that is against the majoritarian democratization process. Eric Budd cited Cameroon under the post-independence political rule of “Ahmadou Ahidjo (1960-1982)” as one of such societies that operated under such pattern. Jurg Martin Gabriel (1999: 173-196) noted that the regime was characterized with over centralization and the leadership was the singular symbol of development. Under the leadership of Ahmadou Ahidjo in Cameroon, Gabriel said fidelity became more supreme than the efficient delivery of government activities. The Cameroon context of neopatrimonial system as noted by Gabriel also produced a massive public institutional failure, where “liberal transition occurred in the country but without engendering democracy.” Richard Snyder (1992) in his analysis stated that the practice of neopatrimonialism can actually undermined autonomy and opposition, and would lead to cooptation that underwrites “neopatrimonial dictatorship” within the state citing several cases including Zaire under former Mobutu Sese Soko, Haiti under the regime of Duvalier that dwindled the independence of the army etc. (1992:379-395).

Karen L. Renner (1989) also referencing Chile under the leadership of Augusto Pinochet from 1973 to 1987, explained the pattern of neopatrimonial political construction an approach that led to the production of “exclusionary-authoritarianism.” Renner accentuated that in the bid for Augusto Pinochet to entrench his position in power he unleashed neopatrimonial logic that featured largely exclusionary patterns in the army institution to purge his challengers. This practice as indicated by Renner, led to an excessive politicization of the institution which culminated in undermining the reputation of the institution. Also, neopatrimonial phenomenon was also typical of Palestine as specified by Rex Brynen (1995). Brynen noted that under the governance system of Arafat, practices such as patronage and other inherent neopatrimonial patterns were a tool unleashed to consolidate power and enhance his alliance in the governance structure of Palestine, and such practice was particularly reflective of the challenge of limited economic strength that existed amidst huge expectation. Brynen noted that in his attempts to meet the needs of the few as against the majority culminated into exclusion, and the effects produced by such practice undermined the legality of the country’s political leadership that accounted for the neopatrimonialism. Brynen thus concluded that, Palestine neopatrimonial practice was informed by the existential reality of societal alterations, and the effort to cope with such disintegration within immediate structural and administrative needs.

Rebuffing the underpinned codification especially in the manner and approach neopatrimonialism has been utilized in the characterization of the political climate of Africa, Zubairu Wai (2012) in the first instance viewed such logic of explanation as largely problematic, in that the use of one analytical approach to situates expatiation on assortment of complex variables taken for granted as compatible renders it awkward. More importantly, he also argued that the proponents of neopatrimonialism especially those aligned with “Eurocentric” accounts have largely capitalized on western past knowledge as the established standards that have to be habitable across all societies, of which if not found in certain states

those societies are automatically placed an explanatory variable as abnormal and therefore, neopatrimonial in nature. Wai argued that conclusion drawn by theorists from this perspective largely pay less attention to understanding Africa's historical relationship with Europe, as well as fail to properly account for the domineering historical pattern that characterized such relationship.

Likewise, on their work on Botswana as a typical case, Anne Pitcher, Mary H. Moran and Michael Johnston (2009) argued that scholars have misconstrued the use of patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism, especially from the context of African states. These authors argued that the existence of patrimonialism or neopatrimonialism produces a reciprocity between the government and the people, and this reciprocity helps to check the excesses of government. The authors considered Botswana as a typical example of the practice of patrimonial and neopatrimonial system through reciprocity, whilst legitimacy is cemented through legal rational means along with the practices of a particularistic connection. Also, the authors indicated that there exists a strong affiliation between personalistic and public space and this existence of traditional bond into legal rational authority of the governance system is fundamentally the reason for the characterization of Botswana as one of success stories of Africa (Also see, Aaron deGrassi, 2008).

Gero Erdmann (2013: 59-68) argued that even though the concept of neopatrimonialism has retained experiential importance in showing how to explore and understand complex relationship between "formal institutions and informal behavior and or institution or politic," yet, the neopatrimonialism has suffered from poor utilization as it has been used unilaterally. Erdmann also reiterated that its outcome is not compelling and therefore, cannot be wholly relied upon for concrete exploration. Erdmann further noted that one of the failures of neopatrimonialism is its overt use as causal variable than as causal effect.

Neo-patrimonialism emerged from Patrimonialism. Gunther Roth (1968) studies on patrimonialism, noted that is a phenomenon of "personal rulership" where the power of the political authority is relied on loyalty, and rewards of material incitement are the main organ that undergirds such power existence. Christopher Clapham (1985:47-49) on his analysis of third world state and politic, also stated that in patrimonial power relationship structure those at the recipient end are officially by their role not subsidiary but merely "vassals" whose situation within such power interaction are contingent on the state-head with which their fidelity is situated. As such relationship in such pattern is informed by loyalty and other social affiliations. In a similar context, Roth (1968) affirmed that in the patrimonial construction or practice within a state rulership the leadership is not based on meritorious legitimacy, and it lacks a "constitutionally regulated legislation... Primordialism is traced from Max Weber in his notion of "primordial authority" which he assigned to the category of authority used to be at the interplay in the nominal level of traditionalized form of administration (Roth, 1968, Bratton & De Walle, 1997: 61-62. Also, see Bayart, 1993; Clapham, 1982; Eisenstadt & Lemarchand, 1981 etc.). More Importantly, Max Weber (1947) in his work: "The theory of Social Economic Organization," differentiated between patriarchy pattern which he explained as a practice located at a household level of the family whilst patrimonialism is a practice of a convoluted political scheme where the authority of the state leadership is unleashed to the people through a difficult form of subservient interrelationship.

In a similar context, ethnoregionalism is a combination of ethnocentrism and regionalism. Ethnocentrism relates to the ethnic identity of people contingent on linguistic and historic homogenous relatedness and can be predicated on the feelings of bigotry or distrust a particular set group holds towards an out-growth within society, or the consciousness of one's cultural self and pattern relative to that of others (Griffith, 2015: 304; Horowitz, 1993. Also see Horowitz, 1991). Beyond the mere feeling of distrust for ethnic others ethnocentrism is deeply rooted in political party alignment and voting pattern

(Horowitz, 1985). This is proven in the work done by Pippa Norris and Robert Mattes (2003) using “comparative survey and multivariate analytical approach” to test twelve Sub-Sahara African countries. Their result shows that ethnic attachment is extremely prominent in party political voting system and particularly, in countries characterize by limited level of “education, as well as with infinitesimal access to information through electronic and print media sources” (Also see Lindberg and Morrison, 2008).

Furthermore, on regionalism or regional salience it represents the physical ecological demarcation between people within a country through borders, which often result into inhabitants arrogating particular feelings similar to those expressed in ethnocentric context. For instance, in the work done by Pelle Ahlerup & Ann-Sofie Isaksson (2014) which gauged inhabitants ethnoregional patterns and sentiments of fifteen countries showed that, inhabitants belonging to the same ethnic and regional location of where political leadership of the country hails are less likely to express the feeling of injustice and intolerance against the political regime, unlike other adherents who do not share similar socially constructed ethnic and regional alignment. The ill effect of ethno-regionalism in a state is referenced by John F. Clark (2002) in the analysis of Congo. John F. Clark pointed out that Congo context especially during the 1992 elections that led to the emergence of political parties oriented along ethno-regional composition and alignment and the years afterwards, followed an intense political struggle to result into intractable low scale war that did not only produce the elimination of ethnic and regional others through slaying at large scale, but saw democratization process of the country completely stymied and way behind Benin republic (Ibid. Also, see Collins, 1995).

Thus, ethnic and regional salience has its foundation on profound identity expression. Ethnoregionalism is an identity constructed along ethnic and on geographic identity sentiment (Chakrabarty et al, 2009, Ibrahim, 2000: 41-57). While the mere existence of this notion itself cannot be misconstrued as challenging to the state, yet, as pointed out by Jibrin Ibrahim (2000: 41-57), it can become a dilemma when a certain category of people has a feeling of being ostracized from what they believe to be part of. It gives rise to the notion of marginalization, exclusion, or discrimination felt among out-groups. This phenomenon has become a social practice in societies serving as an epicenter for in-group alliances, communication and recruitment against out-group (Ibrahim, 2000: 41-57, Cohen, 1969). Richard Ilorah (2009) have argued that the underdevelopment of Africa is explained by the lack of proper management of the ethnic diversity, wherein ethnic prejudice and discrimination has resulted into producing “socio-economic crisis” that in turn creates bitterness among those who consider themselves abandoned by the state and, hence often leading to wars.

This pattern is well notable in the analysis of Ivory Coast by Teke Ngomba (2012:8-13), where he expressed that the “sober characteristic of Ivorian Crisis” which has underlined the country’s recurrent stalemate as evident in its political and rebellious pattern since the 1990s, is caused by “ethnoregionalism.” Ngomba elaborated that the instrumentalization of identity in the bid to foster support based amidst the prevalence of multi-ethnic and ecological conditions resulted into the notion of “Ivoirite,” (a local bigotry parlance to distinguish between a true Ivorian and other) by the southerners posited against the northerners, which created debilitating political climate for the entire country (Also see Richard Crook, 1997). Contrary to the negative nature on which ethnoregionalism has been analyzed, the context of an ethnoregional conflict as analyzed by Saul Newman (1996) located instructive perspective. Newman (1996:1-3) specified that in many western democracies’ aspects of “identity penchant along ethnic and regional context that produced conflicts particularly in the aftermath of “1960s to 1970, were situated within the democratic and governance space instead of battles through continual elites bargaining approach. Citing countries such as Belgium, Britain and Canada” etc., Newman accentuated

that its contributed in strengthening the democratic processes through the opening of the political space for multiplicity of inclusivity, and contributed immensely in devolving the political space and system to the peripheral regional identity blocks.

The combination of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism in this study, first of all is to showcase that traditional political practice is extremely evident in Sierra Leone political system, and also to emphasize how regional-based ethnic identity has become the main determinant factor in the Sierra Leone political superstructure. More importantly, this theorization reinvents the wheel with which politics of identity constructed at the periphery of the state regulates the political superstructure in the politics of Sierra Leone. This approach largely goes beyond the overemphasized role of the absoluteness of political patrons as the dominant dictator of the political pattern especially views share in neopatrimonialism. Nonetheless, complementarity between the patron and the periphery cannot be ignored.

4. Construction of Mende & Temne Ethnic-Regional Identity in Historical Context

The whole analysis of ethnoregional-neopatrimonial practice in the politics of Sierra Leone has strong referenced to the Mende and Temne ethnic divisionary pattern, which is also contingent along a regional line. The ethnic and regional boundary construction, formation, and differentiation between the Mende and Temne and their adherents has become a profound phenomenon established within the mainstream body politics considered as a widely held feeling of attachment, activation, and practice that started in the historical past. It is a socially constructed phenomenon fundamentally situated beyond primordialist conception of identity, but within a specific given circumstance at particular point during the country's historical period and in the political evolution which began with warfare, where conquest through strategic interactions led to the conglomeration of shared cognitive homogeneity that produced strong and uncompromising feeling of identities. This phenomenon, as their behavioral pattern suggests became deeply reflected on the ethnic and geographic or regional dimension and pattern of the country. Thus, over time and space it was incrementally enhanced to become a taken for granted social structural and cultural pattern of not only the political system, but the overall national character. Additionally, identity salience became well shaped following the aftermath of the war which created a situation of inhabitants settling at differential ecological locations distinct from others that resulted into years with limited interactions across social boundaries. This event accounted for the solidification of both the linguistic and the regional differentiation among these inhabitants, which in the years that followed became instrumentalized as a political strategy that constantly placed the two tribes at a stern social differential distance. There have been, however, several instances of fluid ethnic boundary crossing for integrative settlements or other socio-cultural engagements. But, in those social boundary crossings, differentiation has strictly remained an uncompromising space between the two tribes.

Nearly all, ethnic groups except for a few, migrated to Sierra Leone from neighboring countries several decades ago. It is estimated that there are currently sixteen ethnic groups inhabiting present day Sierra Leone as specified in the National Census figures of 2015. Each of this ethnic composition has distinct linguistic and behavioral disparities, and are geographically situated at demarcated well-known locations across the country somewhat distinct from others along specific characteristics and patterns (Statistics Sierra Leone, 2017: 8). This study focused mainly on two of the tribes, the Mende, and the Temne ethnic group, and for two reasons. On one hand, they are currently, the two leading ethnic groups in the country, and on the other, these two ethnic groups are currently the leading tribes deeply associated with the two main political parties, the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) and the All People's Congress (APC) party in which their ethnic and regional

alignments over time has shaped the politics of the country.

Sierra Leone in the prehistoric period was characterized by numerous invaders depicted by violent warfare in search of land for settlements and for other socio commercial leitmotif. Notoriously known as “Mane Invasion,” its occurrence in Sierra Leone is traceable approximately from 16th Century or in 1545 onwards. It was an invasion characterized by violent militarism and conquest and its bequeathed huge consequences on the earlier settlers of Sierra Leone, the “SAPES” (Binns & Binns, 1992). The SAPES, as accounted for in different analyses, was historically characterized as the original inhabitants of the country (Rodney, 1967). It is believed that the outcome of the Mane invasion in Sierra Leone negatively impacted these original inhabitants largely on account of the strong military prowess of the invaders, and the nature of militancy that was employed during such invasion. Phenomenologically, the Mane invasion impaired prior communal integration, cultural homogeneity and did produce profound warlike consciousness among inhabitants at a higher scale than before its advent.

Historic accounts hold that the “SAPES group” from which emerged ethnic groups such as the Temne, the Bullom and the Limba (Rodney, 1967: 219, Binns & Binns, 1992, Fyfe, 1962) was defeated or conquered during the battle that ensued between them when the Mane invasion occurred. This defeat did not only reduce the prestige of the SAPES as original inhabitants, but it also resulted into subjugation such as their exchange to the Europeans for cash, disruption of their commercial activities, force labour and general disintegration of their original creative enterprises. Thus, the invasion, the conquest, and the defeat largely impacted on the ecological alignment of these emerged ethnic tribes in the country (Rodney, 1967: 235-240; Glennerster, 2013: 296), which also largely led to systematic construction, modeling, and the crystallization of their shared homogeneity along linguistic tribes and geographical positions etc. The invasion and the conquest led to an internal migration where the original inhabitants, the SAPES, mainly the Temne and the Limba ethnic group repositioned further inland of the country known today as the northern region. Also, historic account maintains that the Mende ethnic group emerged from the Mane invasion (Rodney, 1967:236), and systematically repositioned in their conquered regions known today as the South and East part of the country.

This instance was the earliest and most profound critical juncture period of the country’s ethnic and demographic shaping and arrangement, particularly on aspects of ethnic and regional composition and their differentiation at a large scale, a phenomenon that did not intensely exist before then. Prior, the advent of the invasion, the SAPES group had existed and cohabited in most traditionalized and communal ways devoid of instances of an overly eminent and recurrent warfare. With the advent of the Mane invasion, its resulted in creating power asymmetrical relationship between the Mane and the original settlers, which the Manes were at a dominant end over these original inhabitants. A typical example was King Farma who became the first Mane King of Port Loko administering the Temne inhabitants (known today as the northern region district) for many years (Rodney, 1970, 1967; Massing, 1985)

Whilst SAPES has been largely considered as an entity in which the Temne tribe emerged or associated, it is vital to note that the Mane invasion in Sierra Leone contributed in shaping the country’s earliest ethnoregional identity of the Temne ethnic tribe as a distinctive ethnic group from the Mende ethnic group which origins is traced from the Mane invaders. There have also remained many superficial arguments about how the Temne ethnic group emerged in Sierra Leone, which many referenced their migration from Futa Djalloh, Guinea, and found a settlement in northern Sierra Leone. While such accounts particularly cannot be entirely ignored, nonetheless, such historical attachment can be viewed as simplistic and romanticized in historical inquiry as its desperately overlook the deeply rooted historic account of Sierra Leone systematic ethnic codification.

In conclusion, this historical context of the Mende and Temne and the regional identity construction over time became ethnically and regionally differentiated along those two blocs within which their different in-group internal social and political organization was independently practiced in the pre-colonial era. During the colonial period, the prominence of these two ethnic and regional differences were largely deactivated, however, in the decolonization period was reactivated. The next section explains how this pre-colonial ethnic and regional identity differentiation became a political tool in the post-independence political pattern between these two ethnic groups in the political sphere.

5. How Mende-Temne Ethnic and Regional Identity Construction Solidified in Post-independence National Politics, 1961-1992

The flurry of euphoria that gripped the newly independent African state, Sierra Leone, almost immediately turned out to be a short-live, because of the hotly contested and deep ethnic and regional identity attachments that resurfaced in the national politics particularly between the Mendes occupying the South-Eastern part of the country, and the Temne of the North and largely in the Western part of Sierra Leone. Jennifer L. Hochschild (2006: 293) in her work observed that, history is an accumulated established belief that nurtures thought which in turn ignites action. The pre-colonial Mende-Temne ethnic and regional identity that existed was relatively integrated and slow down during the colonial era, but was reified and activated under a well-organized and regulated structure in the post-colonial period. The period was characterized by constant reproduction and layering of these socially constructed institutions to further political objectives along modicum modifications to fit in the existed democratic space. This pattern that could be viewed in a similar way to what Paul Pierson (2002), James Mahoney (2000) and Kathleen Thelen (2003) analyzed in their works on “increasing returns” and “institutional layering conception.”

Additionally, during colonial administration from 1808 to 1961, the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) was formed in 1951, comprising mainly the Mende and Temne ethnic social group and other minor ethnic groups as a combined force to challenge the minority Creole hegemonic posture in the political sphere at the colony, and have a direct participation in the national political governance (Mustapha & Bangura, 2016: 30-31). During this struggle, ethnic and regional identity differentiation became almost insignificant as large social boundary crossing occurred, especially among ethnic groups of the protectorate, but more importantly, between the Mende and Temne ethnic group in the formation of the SLPP as a dominant protectorate political party. Nonetheless, towards the eve of the political independence political rift emerged among the protectorate political actors of the SLPP (Ibid.). The deep nature of the rift became partially reflected in the negotiation agreement for country's political independence at Lancaster House in London, in which representatives from Sierra Leone that attended the meeting were practically divided as a country.

Led by a Mende and South-Easterner from the protectorate region under the SLPP, the country under Sir Milton Margai gained political independence in 1961 from the British Colonial Administration. Nonetheless, the political leadership struggle which preceded independence within the SLPP party and apparently the disagreement over political independence, led Siaka P. Stevens, one of the Sierra Leonean delegates that traveled to London, returned to Sierra Leone without signing the independence agreement. The outcome of that disagreement and the already incremental ethnic and regional disenchantment resulted into the formation of the All Peoples Congress (APC) in 1960 as a political party with he, Siaka P. Stevens, as the first leader of the party. Before the formation of the APC party, Siaka P. Stevens on his earlier returned

from London mobilized a movement called “Election Before Independence Movement” (EBIM), a movement that largely informed the formation of the APC as a political party with his adherents mainly drawn from the North-Western part of the country. The formation of the APC with large constituents drawn from the North and of largely Temne inhabitants and SLPP of the South-East was another critical juncture period which ended the prior political ethnoregional integration among the two tribes and on which ethnoregional political differentiation or identity boundaries became deeply built between these ethnic tribes.

In his analysis of “regimes and repertoires,” Charles Tilly (2006; 2005) analyzed repertoires as the method often utilizes in claim making processes by actors. One important aspect mentioned by Charles Tilly about repertoires is that they are methods derived from relation, social connections and institutional arrangement which informs a daily way of life, and these particularities form the basis that actors employ to advance their shared contentious engagement. The formation of the APC as a political party is built on this capital particularly given that it emerged to become a strong northern-based political party largely of Temne ethnic dominance and other minor regional ethnic groups such as the Limba etc., became a strong alliance especially when it became glaring that the SLPP party leadership was constituted mostly of Mende ethnic group of the South-East (Wyse, 1989: 109, Kandeh, 1998: 92). The start of ostracization and marginalization of ethnic and regional others between the two groups gradually made its way into the mainstream politics in the post-independence era and was instrumentalized where members of the north and of certain tribes adopted the APC party as their political image, whilst south-east of the country adopted the SLPP. During the colonial period when the Mende and Temne had a unidirectional political integration, SLPP was formed in the northern part of the country, however, with the sharp rift that occurred the two political parties, the SLPP and the APC became the social sites where strategic ethnic and regional fixated interactions were molded.

Few years after independence, in 1964, what appeared to be a “Mende party of the SLPP” overtly manifested in the person of Sir Albert Margai (a south-eastern) who succeeded his elder brother as a prime minister, Sir Milton Margai (Dumbuya, 2008). Detailed account shows that Sir Albert Margai as Prime Minister removed many northerners (Temne politicians) from the SLPP led cabinet and replaced them with South-Easterners, a trend and pattern that was also replicated in the military institution largely (Dumbuya, 2008; Harris, 2014). The resentment that emerged from such political exclusion along regional and ethnic social boundaries continued unabated across many institutions until in 1967 when general elections was conducted. The APC party won all the seats in the North and West while the SLPP won almost all the seats in the South-East and eventually (Alie, 1990) the APC party of the north-western based who was filled with acute indignation led by Siaka P. Stevens, defeated the SLPP party in the elections of 1967.

Whilst the swearing ceremony of President Siaka P. Stevens as president was already completed and in preparation to compose his cabinet, Siaka P. Stevens was overthrown in a military coup staged by Brigadier David Lansana a Mende and South-Easterner on 21 March 1967, on the claim that the election results were unconstitutional as other elections for the chiefs were ongoing, and asserting that his action was intended to institute state orderliness and to avert ethnic conflict (Alie, 1990; Harris, 2013). Shortly afterwards, young military officers in the person of A.C Blake and Major B.I Kai-samba staged another military coup and detained both Brigadier Lansana and Sir Albert Margai on 23 March, 1967, and constituted a military government that they name the “National Reformation Council (NRC)” with Lieutenant Colonel Juxon-Smith as chairman. In 1968, the deposed president Siaka P. Stevens was reinstated as president of Sierra Leone (Ibid).

In the new administration under president Siaka P. Stevens, massive political exclusion continued at an alarming scale,

followed by an introduction of a one-party constitution adopted in 1978 that prohibited opposition political parties on his claimed for national unity to thrive. As a calculated political strategy, neopatrimonial political patronage was firmly established where one political party was sanctioned to exist. Members of other political parties or groups of other regions were, to become co-opted into the APC party or phased out from active politics. The entire era was marred by vicious political, ethnic and regionalized ostracization of the South-East region from active mainstream political participation, and state corruption was permeated that led to the degeneration of state-owned institutions. This egregious pattern of political philosophy continued under his successor, Joseph Saidu Momoh, a former head of the military institution whom he handpicked in 1985 to succeed him. Under Momoh's leadership, the threatening economic climate led him to declare "economic emergency" which further deteriorated the country (Luke, 1988; Dumbuya, 2008: 81-122). Consequently, the outcome of these cumulative factors was the civil war which began in 1991, whilst in 1992 the regime witnessed a military coup from disenchanted young military officers and that ended the long decades of an authoritarian regime in the country (Alie, 1990; Reno, 1995; Kpundeh, 1995; Gberie, 2005). The next section provides summary account leading to the war, and the international liberal peacebuilding that were carried out in the aftermath of the post-conflict in the country.

6. *International Liberia Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Intervention in Sierra Leone*

Placing the revolution that occurred in Sierra Leone into context, it was an outcome of complete state failure that was predicated on failed leadership where consolidation of patronage structure in the systematically established neopatrimonial system became the culture, pattern, and the order of the day. This phenomenon engendered what Antonio Gramsci called "Subaltern form of state," characterized mainly by elite capture, and the country existed as a "shadow state" (Reno, 1995; see Louai, 2012 & Gramsci, 1971). Particularly within this period over centralization of state power made state institutions away from the center to become feeble, corrupt, and particularly the security institutions degenerated (Ito, 2009). While the security institutions were rendered weak, yet, it was used as an ancillary structure mainly for the protection of the regime in which violence, intimidation, and excessive violations of persons opposed to the system became pronounced. For instance, particularly under the regime of Siaka P. Stevens of the APC, he created a particular wing within the security force dubbed, the "Special Security Division (SSD)," to actualize that objective (Keen, 2005: 16-17). A classic case in point was the "nonviolent display in the form of demonstration by students of Fourah Bay College in 1977 against his regime, which resulted into brutality and disaster" (Gbla, 2007: 67-68).

Equally important to note during the era is that there existed a huge disenchanted youth bulge chagrined by acute feeling of hopelessness caused by high unemployment ratio (Ito, 2009). There were a high rate of illiteracy, terrible economic breakdown, and a total collapse of the existed Weberian type of state system. This backdrop eventually provided propitious openings for an orderly youth mobilization which saw many of these youths voluntarily offered themselves for revolutionary training in Libya, and on returned marked the beginning of the revolution (Harris, 2013: 82-83; Ito, 2009). During the eleven-year of the revolution, the war was fought mainly devoid of ethnic and regional confrontation, but as earlier stated, the collapse of state institutions constituted a part of the foundation laid prior to the political independence of the country, and it was largely hinged on the failure of the political leadership both before, during, and after independence who failed to crystallize a cohesive nation-state that could be devoid of subunit identities.

International intervention on post-conflict liberal peacebuilding started in Sierra Leone after the revolution was declared

over in 2002. Until this time, considerable challenges were at interplay both locally and internationally. Domestically, whilst the revolution was ongoing, there was a military coup in 1992, mainly by a group of peeved junior military officers who migrated from the countryside to the city and constituted a government of National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), determined and fully spirited with the slogan of ending the war and corruption, and to reconstitute the existential failed state institutions (Keen, 2005; Wai, 2015: 236). However, unable to translate their policy statements into actual reality conducted a general election after extensive negotiations through Bintumani I and Bintumani II, on “peace before elections or elections before peace,” which the NPRC military regime advocated for Peace before election (Kandeh, 1998). Another military coup was staged in 1997 almost a year after the 1996 elections, and the Conakry Peace agreement of 1997 was convened where the junta militia leader agreed to hand over power to the dethroned civilian government. However, once he returned from the peace talk his intention of handing over power was changed and he declared that he would not relinquish power as was planned (Woods & Reese, 2008). This phenomenon led to a sub-regional military intervention through ECOMOG, a military wing of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to forcefully reinstate the deposed president, Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, who had sought refuge in the neighboring country, Guinea (Gberie, 2003).

As a final roadmap in establishing peace, the government, and the main insurgent group, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) agreed to cooperate and signed the Lome Peace Agreement in 1999, following the failures of both the Abidjan 1996 and the Conakry 1997 Peace Accords. The Lome Peace agreement, which turned out as a “power sharing agreement” specifically stressed on rebuilding the country with emphasizes on an immediate cessation of the war, bring together political parties, carryout disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), amnesty to be granted to war actors and their associates, re-examination of the national constitution, and finally, to restructure the national electoral commission for elections etc., (Woods & Reese, 2008; Binningsbo & Dupuy, 2009, Mustapha & Bangura, 2010: 4-7). The agreement also granted key government positions to the RUF rebel entity, where the head of RUF, Corporal Foday Saybana Sankoh, was allotted with a position almost similar in rank to that of the vice president (Mustapha & Bangura, 2010: 4-7).

Towards supporting the execution of the Lome Peace Agreement, on October 1999, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1270 to give permission for the establishment of United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), which constituted 210 observers and 6,000 military personnel mainly for peacekeeping and monitoring. It was followed with the dissolution of earlier United Nations observer’s mission in the country, UNOSMIL, which role was mainly focused on observatory (Woods & Reese, 2008). The execution of DDR programme was among the key agenda outlined in the Lome Peace Accord, which among others became one of the main responsibilities of UNAMSIL deemed as appropriate remedy to create an environment of security and ultimately peace. In 2000, after successfully helping in the restoration of the deposed civilian regime government in 1998, ECOMOG military contingent transferred its security task to UNAMSIL to take over the lead as an international actor. Shortly afterwards, the security situation in the country degenerated and became chaotic, as RUF rebels took to offensive and with the United Nations subsequent resolutions including resolution 1289 and 1299 were adopted to empower UNAMSIL with more military force, but even so, the Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration programme that was ongoing became largely affected (Ibid). Also, 500 UNAMSIL peacekeepers were apprehended and placed as hostages by the RUF rebels, but with the intervention of United Kingdom through “Operation Palliser mainly under the Commonwealth command” the situation was improved, and the UNAMSIL peacekeepers placed under hostage’ released. This resulted in 2001, for an increased UNAMSIL peacekeeping contingent to 17,500, one of the highest deployments ever in Africa (Woods, Reese, 2008; Berman & Labonte, 2006: 141- 192).

As stated earlier, Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration Programme was the main task of UNAMSIL in recuperating the peace in Sierra Leone, and major progress was made in the collection of arms from various war associate or actors to the conflict totaling to “72, 500 combatants disarmed of which 4,370 were children.” The DDR process which commenced in 1999 was completed in 2002 (Berman & Labonte, 2006). Table two below highlights excerpt of the data documented by Eric G. Berman and Melisa T. Labonte, of the combatants and programme execution timeframe.

Table 2: Data on Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration in Sierra Leone, 1999-2002.

Period	Revolutionary United Front	Civil Defence Force	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council	Others	Total
1999-2000	4130	8,800	4495	1473	18,898
2000- 2001	768	524	1038	298	2,628
2001-2002	19,267	28,051	0	463	47,781
Total	24,165	37,375	5,533	2,234	69,307

On 18 January 2002, the war was declared over and nationwide general elections were conducted that captured mainly presidential and parliamentary across the entire country, unlike the 1996 elections. The outcome of the 2002 elections beckoned the beginning of Sierra Leone post-conflict liberal peacebuilding institutionalization, where security sector reform, democratization and economic revitalization through development assistance constituted the fulcrum of the international intervention for institutional reconstruction countrywide. Security sector institutional reforms focused on Sierra Leone Police, Military and the Judiciary, including other subsidiary security components, such as prisons, parliaments, customs etc., as it was imperative that security sector reform was necessary and urgent in the Lome Peace Accord, as spelt out in article XVII.

With the Police Institution, the reform was led by the United Kingdom initially through the Commonwealth Police Development Task Force (CPDTF) and followed by the Commonwealth Community and Safety Security Project (CCSSP) (Albrecht, 2010, Gbla, 2007). Institutional overhaul was the foundation through which restructuring the management system led to the appointment of Keith Biddle, a retired British assistant chief constable as the Inspector General of the police in Sierra Leone from 1999 (Albrecht & Jackson, 2014). The preliminary reform approach resulted in recruitment process where professional trainings with the aim to elevate the standard of the institution was provided. By 2004, the personnel numeracy strength of the police institution was raised from 6,500 to 9,500 and it followed by recurrent yearly recruitment process attaining the strength of 12,000 personnel (Baker, 2010, Albrecht, 2010). Additionally, during the reform both at the institutional and infrastructural level the police barracks were refurbished, and an initial 700 vehicles made available to establish state presence and authority across various regions in the country (Baker, 2010). Community policing was introduced as a part of the reform in the bid for joint collaboration between communities, and the police institution for responses to eminent community security related threats and for information sharing. Furthermore, as stated, this joint collaboration with the community was to build trust and confidence in the institution especially given its previous history of bad policing, and more importantly, a Complaint Disciplined and Internal Investigation Department (CDIID) was established in the police institution as a part of the reform process which members of the public and from within the institution could

forward complaints of misdemeanors committed by police personnel (Baker, 2010; Albrecht, 2010).

In the period leading to the war and during the war, the military institution of Sierra Leone had lost its professionalism, legitimacy, and gap in requisite skills needed to ensure the institution's undivided loyalty to the state (Gbla, 2007). This resulted among others the imperative need for its reforms after the war to revert it to the original traditional role as a military institution of the state. Led mainly by United Kingdom the institutional reform of the Sierra Leone army was executed under the International Military and Advisory Training team (IMATT). The reform focused mainly on recruitment and training of officers across all cadre of the institution contingent on the recruitment standard of professionalism, apolitical, and free from ethnic inclination beginning with three hundred applicants and one hundred to be recurrently added every six months (Gbla, 2007). The process also saw varied trainings that captured mainly human rights the protection of children. It ensured that the 2,500 uneducated personnel in the system acquired elementary education (Ibid). The reform also saw some restructuring in the country's ministry of defense that led to civil-military relations through the creation of the office of director general to be headed by a non-military personnel, with responsibility to give guidance on defense issues relating to the general administration. In addition, during the reform, military equipment entailing two helicopter units, seventy-five land rovers, twenty-military trucks, eight armored vehicles and seven ambulances were part of the preliminary reform package to ensure military operational flexibility (Ibid). Generally, unlike in the past, this reform resulted in subjecting military accountability under civilian control, this accentuates the leitmotif of security sector reform framework.

Also, the judicial sector was severely dysfunctional during the several decades of the authoritarian regime. Thus, justice sector reform was a key pillar which was used to consolidate the work of the security environment in Sierra Leone particularly on the aspect of the rule of law. Against this backdrop, the reform on a law development project began in 2001, which focused on "logistics and infrastructural support. This targeted renovation of physical infrastructures, court equipments, enhancement, and training of principal court administrators and legal personnel, and the modification of some obsolete existing legal code" etc. (Albrecht, 2010). In 2005, a broader approach through Justice Sector Development Programme (JSDP) replaced the law development project, which incorporated into its scheme of operation the local court systems and supported the "drafting of the local court bill and the revitalization of the customary law," and Moyamba District was selected as one of the venues for the implementation of the JSDP initiative as a pilot phase (Albrecht, 2010; Also, see Varisco, 2014). The local focus of the justice system and the need for its sustainability through community ownership was captured in the Access to Justice Development Programme (ASJP) which began in 2011. Through the joint collaboration of United Kingdom and the United Nations, the judicial reform, police, and the military, were to enhance the justiciability and security across communities in fulfilment of a liberal peacebuilding project.

Furthermore, poverty reduction was equally considered as a catalytic factor in the attainment of peace, and through what appeared as a collaborative approach of the Government of Sierra Leone, the World Bank and the International Monetary fund, resulted in the formation of Poverty Reduction Strategy paper (PRSP) in 2005, which outlined three thematic Pillars, that included: "Pillar (1) Promoting good governance, Security and Peace; Pillar (2) Promoting Pro-poor sustainable growth for food security and job creation; and Pillar (3) promoting human development" (Shinoda, 2008; Sierra Leone Human Development Report, 2007). Generally, PRSP was based on the conviction that enhancing the aspect of an effective governance system that ensures peace and security whilst addressing issues of poverty and upholding and protecting individual basic human rights could enhance progress towards the stability of the country (Shinoda, 2008).

With the establishment of United Nations Peace Building Commission (UNPBC) in 2005, Sierra Leone became one of

the two countries it was operationalized. Specifically, in Sierra Leone the Peacebuilding Commission was established in 2006 and cognizance of the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report of 2004, and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper II, it focused its support for reform on five thematic areas that included “(a) Youth employment and empowerment; (b) Capacity building; (c) Justice and Security sector reform; (c) Consolidation of democracy and good governance; and (d) Energy sector.” These thematic areas principally on youth and justice were among the underlined etiology for the 1991 revolution and therefore, were seen to have been integral in the operations of the peacebuilding commission (Shinoda, 2008; Ito, 2009). Through the formation of United Nations Integrated office in Sierra Leone in 2005 and with the coordination of other United Nations agencies, various priority areas were integrated towards the establishment of peace and to enhance the country’s transition towards development. Specific areas such as “national cohesion and respect for human rights, multi-party dialogue, promoting democratic system, effective rule of law, and governance institutions” such as “anti-corruption institution, parliament, National Electoral Commission, and Political Parties Registration Commission” were supported with reforms whilst others were created to vitalize the reform (Shinoda, 2008).

Undoubtedly, while these reforms in an absolute term fundamentally did not attain its overarching success in totality. Yet, considerable progress was reached in moving towards its consolidation, and in 2007, there was a change of government. The period leading to the 2007 and 2018 general elections, serious ethnoregional-neopatrimonial politics was fully re-emerged in the body politics of the country.

7. *An Overview of Ethnoregional-Neopatrimonial Practice in Sierra Leone*

One of the features associated with the practice of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism is the pattern of extreme political exclusion. Political exclusion in established democracies in which the main survival of most citizens do not squarely depend on their political affiliations is not the type of political exclusionary environment discussed in this study. The political exclusion explained in this study is the one occurring in an environment where politics is the sole determinant of the economic life of the people. That is, it is in an environment where the country’s national economic resource distribution largely hinges on the level of affiliations established within the political structure. In this structure, the survival and access to the national wealth is extremely dependent on what identical affinity, either ethnic and regional or both, exist within the main political circle.

Beginning of the 2007 general elections and period leading to the 2018 nationwide elections, ethnoregional-neopatrimonial attitude was fully reawakened and re-established in the main political superstructure of Sierra Leone. Particularly under the reigns of the APC political party in the post-conflict period was largely dominated by north-western composition from 2007-2018. Mainly viewed as an informal practice or institution, ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism was mainly informed by an ethnoregional centric framing accompanied and built on valued imposition. This was underpinned by the attitude of perceived distrust and prejudices towards segment of ethnic and regional others, perceived as outsiders within the same ecological and somewhat linguistic milieu.

In the tenure of the regime, one-way political exclusion was conceptualized as through ministerial formation, as one of the organs of government. In Sierra Leone, the executive arm of the government is considered the “supremo,” which means, it is the most powerful organ comparative to the legislature and executive branch which have remained the most dominant contrary to what the French Philosopher Baron de Montesquieu opined in his work “The Spirit of the Law” (Nugent, 2011).

As data indicates unlike the previous regime from 2002-2007 that had semblance of national representation across ethnic and regional composition, the regime that began in 2007, of the 44 cabinet positions for ministerial and deputy positions, ninety percent of these positions were all people chosen from the North-Western region of the country (Patriotic Vanguard Newspaper, 2007). Additionally, following the victory of the SLPP party in 2018 general elections a committee was constituted that was referred to as the Governance Transition Team with the primary task of taking scooping examination on the previous regime. The report of the “Governance Transition Team (GTT)” focused on many issues but specifically detailed out some key government agencies and parastatals of their ethnic and regional representation from 2007 to 2018 under the former APC regime. The report revealed pattern of extreme political exclusion mainly along ethnic and regional representation within these institutions, and as this study indicates, this pattern was largely the outcome of the deeply rooted practice of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism in the political system. Table three below presents a summary of this political exclusionary pattern. As stated in the report, out of 868 employment positions from these five key government institutions, 784 were people from the North-West constituting of 89%, while only 84 were from the South-East making up of 11% (Governance Transition Team Report, 2018).

Table 3: Ethnoregional Dimension of employees in Key Agencies and Parastatals in Sierra Leone, 2007-2018

Parastatals	North-West	South-East
National Telecommunications Commission (NATCOM)	95	7
National Social Security and Insurance Trust (NASSIT)	357	36
National Revenue Authority (NRA)	15	1
Road Maintenance Fund Administration (RMFA)	23	5
National Public Procurement Authority (NPPA)	38	8
MARITIME	172	11
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)	84	16
Average Percentage	89%	11%

Ethnoregional exclusionary political pattern was also visible in the removal from offices the head of the Anti-Corruption Commissioner, the Head of National Commission for Social Action (NACSA) and the Central Bank Governor all government staff mainly suspected of being hailed from South-East and were replaced with North-Westerners. These patterns as stated in this study, are a systemic and calculated taken for granted practice that have become a part of the politics, and as an outcome that should be understood through the political practice that has been relied on an ethnoregional-neopatrimonial structure. Such pattern undermines the human rights of citizens and the spirit of the rule of law is rendered as a false impression which effectiveness in such a system is only at the pleasure of the regime that operates it at a given period, not as an established legal-rational pattern that universally works for all over time and space. For instance, the removal of the Bank governor was an obvious contravention of the appointment regulations of tenure of office. Apparently, it is not a unique pattern that is only limited to the APC political system, it is a well systematic practice that has been consolidated within the political system that forced regimes to operate within such practice in order to satisfy the ethnoregional-neopatrimonial conditionality. For instance, under the SLPP regime from April 2018, it was reported that the regime has been characterized with an apparent redundancy of sympathizers and members largely associated with the erstwhile APC regime of the north-

western from institutions of government under the pretext of an institutional restructuring initiative (Mansaray, 2018).

Furthermore, an ethnoregional-neopatrimonial political system has also resulted into the hardening of extreme ethnic and regional boundary differentiation, and has been particularly made manifest through those identity associations with all electoral voting patterns more recently beginning of 2002, 2007, 2012 and of 2018. In between these elections, extreme alignment has been realized, and between 2007, 2012 and 2018 have been the most fragmented periods in the country than was in 2002. These elections are direct symbolic representation of the social boundary differentiation in the country. The work of both Frederick Barth on “Ethnic groups and Boundaries” (1969) and Charles Tilly on “Social boundary Mechanism” (2005) explained the manner social boundary activation, maintenance and its intensification are reproduced and sustained in social settings. Specifically, focused on two general elections- 2007 and 2012 as in table four below, the data that is captured below showcase how ethnoregional identity mobilization along electoral voting behavioral patterns between the South-East SLPP party led mostly by the Mende and the North-West APC party mostly by Temne and Limba ethnic groups has been manifested.

Table 4: Presidential Voting Pattern in 2007 Run-off Elections along Ethnic and Regional Support

Major Parties	Western Area	Northern Region	Southern Region	Eastern Region
SLPP	138,613	82,421	221,765	346,852
APC	304,388	462,430	86,384	97,205

The diagram in table 4 above, showcases the total votes scored by both the SLPP and APC parties in the 2007 general presidential elections by regions. Whereas, the SLPP scored 789,651 votes of 45.38 percent mainly of votes from the South-East, the APC who won the elections scored 950,407 votes of 54.62 percent (Sierra Leone Web, 2007). Added to this data, more divisionary unfolding occurred in the parliamentary representations. Of the fifty-two seats in the South-East, APC secured only two seats in the 2007 general elections, and SLPP secured only three seats of the 60 seats in the North-West (Parliament of Sierra Leone, 2008, National Democratic Institute Report, 2007). Similarly, table five below is the data of the 2012 general elections where the incumbent APC secured 1,314,881 votes and of 58.7 percent and the SLPP secured 837,517 votes of 37.4 percent (National Electoral Commission Report, 2012).

Table 5: Presidential Voting Pattern in 2012 Elections along Ethnic and Regional Support

Major Parties	Western Area	Northern Region	Southern Region	Eastern Region
SLPP	152,520	48,856	344,399	291,740
APC	416,840	682,142	85,510	132,749

In the same vein, during the parliamentary elections SLPP party secured no single parliamentary seat in the whole of North-West region whereas, APC party secured all the seats in the North-West region and few seats in the South-East largely in locations which appeared to be mainly a non-typically-Mende Speaking zone (Ibid). This nature of extreme ethnoregional voting pattern has become a social practice of political socialization embedded in the political culture of Sierra Leone principally in the post-conflict era covertly as a competition with the leitmotif of gaining access to the national economic based and to exercise its control over out-group adherents.

Also, with the existence of political exclusion and the extreme ethnic and regional differentiation as outcome of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism, together results to undermining national accountability, institutional legitimacy, as well as waning national unity and development. Because of this, political parties develop campaign manifestos or policies that are fundamentally not genuine for national development but as instruments to gain political power that they are always assured of winning elections along those established voting identities. Political accountability is a dominant concept in the analysis of liberal democratic theory. In his generic definition of democracy, Philippe C. Schmitter (2007) characterized democracy as a “system of administration where leaders are answerable for their public stewardship and to the governed...” Political exclusion in ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism undermines political accountability and risk the independence of state institutions. The system becomes a conglomeration of personal assemblage from ethnic and regional political ties, and therefore, legal-rational rules become compromised and ineffective. This pattern is exactly the nature that has been produced in the last fifteen years of post-conflict Sierra Leone, from 2002-2018.

A typical instance of political accountability challenge is evident from the yearly recurrent reports of Sierra Leone Audit Service. For fifteen years, Sierra Leone Audit Service institution has undertaken annual audits across all government owned institutions, and the reports have produced revelation of widespread, systemic and massive unabated corruption across many state institutions and relevant lengthy recommendations proffered for urgent reforms. Nonetheless, the pattern has remained chronic and the recommendations have been treated with profound insignificance (see Auditor General’s Report, 2003; 2004-2005; 2008, 2012) etc. This engrained practice and nature of ethnoregional-neopatrimonial structure in the political system particularly where these government institutions have been occupied by individuals of an ethnoregional identity centric based, legal-rational-actions in addressing these recurrent political unaccountabilities have collapsed.

In 2014, Sierra Leone Audit Service report on funds generated to fight the Ebola scourge, also revealed that in the Ministry of Health and Sanitation alone, money that worth “Le 15,815,495,120 from the Health Emergency Response account and Le 453,571,500 from the Miscellaneous Account of the Ministry, after thorough auditing indicated that only Le 1,964,950,000 that was withdrawn have supporting documents, but the sum of Le 14,304,116,620 was unaccounted for as stated in the report (Sierra Leone Audit Service Report, 2014: 6-7). In the published Transparency International Afrobarometer report (2019: 52), it equally indicated that in 2015 there was deep rooted institutional corruption evident across major state institutions, as captured in the perception of people on these institutions. Table six showcases an excerpt of this revelation below.

Table 6: Perception of people who think these institutions are corrupt:

State Institutions	Level
President’s Office	48%
Members of Parliament	50%
Government Officials	55%
Local Government Officials	49%
Police Institution	59%
Judges and Magistrates	47%

Institutional legitimacy and its sustainability in the political atmosphere of ethnoregional-neopatrimonial practice is clouded in a trust and confidence perception dilemma, and this undermines the efficiency and professionalism of state institutions. In Sierra Leone, the formation of perception built around the established ethnoregional centric notion has also resulted increasingly in creating an institutional legitimacy perception dilemma, and performance competence problem particularly for key state institutions such as the Sierra Leone Judiciary, the Sierra Leone police and more importantly, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) etc., despite the existential endemic problem of political maneuvering. On one hand, when the SLPP party is in government public institutions like the police force, the judiciary, and the national electoral commission etc., are generally perceived or even taken for granted by the APC and its adherents as not an independent institutions of the state. Likewise, when the APC party is in government, SLPP and its adherents have always correspondingly considered these state institutions as largely compromised, not autonomous but as pendulum used by APC party. This pattern of state institutional perception on either side of these political institutions and their adherents is systemically shaped by the force of their ethnoregional-neopatrimonial practice infused or built around these institutions. Sierra Leone Police institution theoretically should be perceived as autonomous for evenly distribution of security. Yet, it is highly political, with the Police Council headed by the Vice President of the country as enshrined in the 1991 constitution. Under such political configurations, it becomes an instrument for the regime of the day to muzzle dissenting views, and to pursue and coerce political and ethnic opponents.

As recent as 2019, two opposition parties, the All People's Congress and the National Grand Coalition (NGC) in their press statements threatened not to participate in any electioneering process across the country, on the assertion of distrust, incompetence, and collusion of the National Electoral Commission with the government of the day. In their withdrawal press statements, the APC party mentioned that : "We in the APC have lost faith, trust, and confidence in the National Electoral Commission as currently constituted to be an impartial, competent, and credible institution to conduct any other elections in Sierra Leone." Similarly, the NGC party stated that: "Consistent with our conclusion that National Electoral Commission under the current leadership is untrustworthy, incompetent, and unfit to handle elections in our fragile democracy, the NGC will not take part in forthcoming local bye-elections" (Nyallay, 2019). This resulted into withdrawing their participations in two of the local council bye-elections conducted in ward 257 in Pork Loko district and in ward 099 in Kono district (National Electoral Commission, 2019) respectively. Principally, these perceived established notions have undermined the professionalism of many national state institutions across the country, and has rendered the country vulnerable to an increasingly violent intermittent eruption especially during electioneering periods.

On accounts of these established structural challenge such as the political exclusion, extreme ethnic and regional boundary differentiation, political unaccountability, institutional legitimacy, and problem of uneven national development distribution, problem of national unity, indifferences, and hates and the exclusion of the vulnerable youths, systemic political violence perpetrations have appeared mostly to be occasioned by irate youths, whilst some are political others can be conceived as an outcome of the system that has conditioned them to constantly remained as "lumpen" youths.

Specifically, related political violence have been phenomena and widespread in the body political practice in the post-conflict period between supporters of the SLPP and the APC, and sometimes manifested by other auxiliary minor political parties in the country. The local parlance "strongholds" is a regionally and ethnically based ecological identity bigotry constructed sites, known as the strength based of one political party over the other. These sites are considered as dangerous and conflagration point for potential political conflict eruption by the intrusion of the opponent political party to stage

campaign rallies, and chiefly, has become part of the political culture that largely appeared to be taken for granted. During the eve of 2007, violent eruption occurred between supporters of the APC and SLPP in Kailahun district in which many supporters were wounded, and the attack was extended to the motorcade of Ernest Bai Koroma, the then leader and presidential standard bearer of the APC party preventing him not to campaign in the district considered as the SLPP based. Similar political clashes in violent nature occurred in Kono, Freetown, Kambia, Moyamba Kenema (European Union Elections Observation Mission, report, 2007) etc. For instance, a town called “Tongo in Kenema district, the political clashed that was occasioned between the SLPP and APC-PDMC led to three people injured, and in another district of Kono supporters’ slingshots at each other” (Atuobi, 2009).

Between March 9th and 12th, 2009, in what appeared as an orchestrated political machination, serious political violence erupted between supporters of the SLPP and APC over bye-election related activities in Pujehun district that accounted into major injuries of some supporters. This election was procrastinated and for security imperativeness some inhabitants residing within the location emigrated for a sojourn to neighboring country, Liberia (Report of the United Nations Secretary General, 2009). Between March 13th and 14th, 2009 in Kenema, violent eruption caused the vehicle of the resident minister of the eastern region of the then incumbent APC party damaged with combustible attacked (Ibid). And from March 13th to 16th, 2009 at the ceremony during the unveiling of the newly refurbished clock tower in Freetown the capital city of Sierra Leone led to an awfully serious violence between supporters of the opposition SLPP and incumbent APC, which resulted into APC supporters setting ablaze the main national headquarters of the SLPP and two cars, as well as alleged raped of women at the party office (Shinoda, 2012; Denney, 2009; Report of United Nations Secretary General, 2009). The phenomenon led to a Joint Communiqué signed between SLPP and APC on April 2th, 2009 organized by the United Nations Executive Representative of the Secretary General, Michael Von de Schulenburg, in which both parties committed themselves to upholding the rule of law and the maintenance of democracy (Ibid) in principle.

In the practice and consolidation of liberal democratization in post-conflict Sierra Leone, volatile political violence has almost become a pattern, and a culture visible in all elections since 2002 to present, and have been reflected in both the national and local council elections. As recent as 2018, there was a horrifying electoral political violence in an ordinary local council bye-election of ward 196, in Kambia District mainly between APC and SLPP on which the election was postponed and led to the death of a 14-year old boy. The magnitude of this systemic and unabated electoral political related violence and including the recent Kambia situation, led to a joint press statement released by foreign diplomats of the United States Ambassador, British High Commissioner, Irish Ambassador, European Union Ambassador and German Ambassador Designate, “condemning such incident and entreating for the perpetrators to be brought to justice, as well as demanding all Sierra Leoneans to remain peaceful and respectful to the democratic process, non-violent and adherence to the rule of law in the country” (Statement on Electoral Violence in Sierra Leone, 2018). These unabated patterns of electoral violence in the country is caused by the nature of ethnoregional-neopatrimonialism, which has also waned realizable development across all regions of the country. And, while development assistance has been the main catalyst within the liberal peacebuilding used to accelerate the national revenue based and foreign investments for the growth of the Gross Domestic Product of the country, yet, the existential political pattern has only succeeded in creating a space for a massive failure of development aid, whilst acute poverty and underdevelopment remain emboldened and at its highest peak across the country.

8. *Conclusion*

The argument held in this study is that, Sierra Leone political system is heavily dependent on ethnoregional-neopatrimonial ideology as the main determinant factor within the political superstructure of the country. And that this pattern has systematically produced extreme political exclusion and emboldened extreme ethnic and regional differentiation. The combination of these patterns has created a deep problem on national political accountability and institutional legitimacy, as well as dilemma on aspects of national unity, and an unevenly development that has resulted over time and space. The intersection between a deeply rooted structural dilemma and an emergent approach of social change has remained a complicated issue which this study has attempted to explain using the context of Sierra Leone.

Therefore, the recurrent association of political violence both during and in the post electioneering period in the country is a part of the deeply rooted phenomenon underneath this pattern, viewed as a struggle to maintain access to the political and economic structure of the state, and to control and dictates the internal sovereignty of the state over ethnic and regional others. Also, what is important to note is that this pattern is not an outgrowth of recent phenomenon, but a systematically constructed phenomenon since prehistoric time which has been shaped and evolved over time and space, and has deeply become rooted within the political practice taken for granted as a part of the political socialization and culture in the political superstructure of Sierra Leone.

This inherently ingrained practice could not be mistaken to be considered as a congenial space for actual consolidation of any liberal post-conflict peacebuilding theoretical approach. In closing, as identity appears to regain a resurgence in the mainstream political spectrum in many societies particularly in heterogeneous countries where national unity has long waned, liberalism is gradually turning out as a challenge, untenable and indefensible and in countries where it has been implemented its consolidation has become glacier.

Bibliography

- Abbott, A. (2004). *Methods of Discovery: Heuristic for the Social Sciences*. New York, USA: W.W Norton & Company.
- Abess, G. (2015). *Legitimizing the Sierra Leone Police: Politics, Corruption*. Doctoral Dissertation. Washington State University.
- Adams, B.G., & Vijver, F.J.R.V. (2017). Identity and Acculturation: The case for Africa. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, Vol.,27 (2), p.115-121. DOI: 10.1080/14330237.2017.1301699.
- Adebajo, A. (2008). "The Security Council and the Three Wars in West Africa," in V. Lowe, A. Roberts, J. Welsh & D. Zaum (eds.) *The United Nations Security Council and War. The Evolution of Thought and Practice Since 1945*. New York, USA: Oxford University Press.
- Ahlerup, P., & Isaksson, A. (2014). *Ethno-Regional Favouritism in Sub-Sahara Africa*. Working Paper in Economic, No. 586. University of Gothenburg. <<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/19897288.pdf>> (Accessed 25 July, 2019).
- Albrecht, P.A. (2010). *Transforming Internal Security in Sierra Leone: Sierra Leone Police and Broader Justice Sector Reform*. Denmark. Danish Institute for International Studies, Report. <https://issat.dcaf.ch/esl/download/17734/207241/RP2010-07_transforming_Sierra_Leone_web.pdf> .(Accessed 10 July, 2019).
- Albrecht, P., & Jackson, P. (2014). *Securing Sierra Leone 1997-2013. Defence, Diplomacy and Development in Action*. (Whitehall Papers). New York, USA: Routledge.
- Alie, J.A.D. (1990). *A New Political History of Sierra Leone*. Oxford, UK: Macmillan Publisher Ltd.
- Amnesty International Report (2018). Retrieved from: <https://www.amnesty.at/media/3389/sierra-leone_a-force-for-good_bericht-juli-2018.pdf> (Accessed 30 June, 2019).
- Atuobi, S. (2009). *Peace Support Operations and Post Conflict Elections: The Case Study of Sierra Leone*. Accra, Ghana. Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/3F6488F086A9D101C12577C100331D09-Full_Report.pdf> (Accessed 14, July, 2019).
- Bach, D.C. (2012). "Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism. Comparative Receptions and Transcriptions," in D. C. Bach & M. Gazibo (eds.) *Neopatrimonialism in Africa and Beyond*. London: Routledge, p.25-44.
- Baker, B. (2010). *Sierra Leone Police Reform: The Role of United Kingdom Government*. Discussion Paper: Organizing Police Forces in Post Conflict Peace-Support Operations, January 27-28, 2010. GRIPS Policy Research Center. <<http://www3.grips.ac.jp/~pinc/data/10-06.pdf>> (Accessed 11 July, 2019).
- Baliga, S., Lucca, D. O., & Sjostrom, T. (2011). Domestic Political Survival and International Conflict. Is Democracy Good for Peace? *The Review of Economic Studies*, Vol., 78, p. 458-486. Oxford University Press on behalf of Review of Economic Studies Limited.
- Bangura, J.J. (2016). "Constitutional Development an Ethnic Entrepreneurism in Sierra Leone: A Metahistorical Analysis," in M. Mustapha & J.J. Bangura (eds.) *Democratization and Human Security in Postwar Sierra Leone*.UK: Palgrave Macmillan.p.30-31.
- Barnett, M. (2016). "Peacebuilding and Paternalism," in T. Debiel, T. Held & U. Schneckener (eds.) *Peacebuilding in Crisis. Rethinking Paradigms and Practices of Transnational Cooperation*. London, UK: Routledge, p.23-37.
- Barth, F. (1998). "Introduction" in F. Barth (ed.) *The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Illinois, USA: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Bayart, J.F. (1993). *The Sate in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*. London, UK: Longman Publishing Group.
- Bellamy, A J., & Dunne, T. (2016). "R2P in Theory and Practice," in A.J. Bellamy & T. Dunne (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.p.3-14.
- Berdal, M. (2015). "United Nations Missions in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)," in J.A. Koops, N. Macqueen, T. Tardy & P.D. Williams (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*. UK: Oxford University Press.
- Berman, E.R. & Labonte, M.T. (2006). "Sierra Leone," in W. J. Durch (ed.) *Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations*. Washington, D.C, USA: United States Institute for Peace. p.141-192.
- Bindi, I.T., & Tufekci. O. (2018). Liberal Peacebuilding in Sierra Leone. *Critical Exploration. Journal of Asian and African Studies*.p.1-15. DOI: 10.1177/002/909618776427.<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325444713_Liberal_Peacebuilding_in_Sierra_Leone_A_Critical_Exploration>. (Accessed 24 June, 2019).
- Binningsbo, H. M., & Dupuy, K. (2009). Using Power-Sharing to Win a War: The Implementation of the Lome Agreement in Sierra Leone, *Africa Spectrum*. Vol., 44 (3), p.87-107. German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Institute of Africa Affairs. <<https://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/afsp/article/viewFile/193/193>>. d> (Accessed 12 July, 2019).
- Boone, C. (2007). *New Territorial Politics: Regionalism and the Open Economy in Cote d'Ivoire*. *African Studies Review*, Vol., 50 (1), p.59-81. Cambridge University Press.
- Bratton, M. & Van De Walle, C. (1994). *Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa*. World Politics. Cambridge University

- Press. Vol., 46(4), p.453-489.
- Brynen, R. (1995). The Neopatrimonial Dimension of Palestinian Politics. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol., 25 (1), p. 23-36. University of California Press. Through Institute of Palestine Studies. (Accessed 4 August, 2019).
- (1997). *Democratic Experiments in Africa. Regime Transition in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. p.61-89.
- Buchan, R. (2013). *International Law and the Construction of the Liberal Peace*. Oxford, UK. Hart Publishing Ltd.
- Budd, E. (2004). *Democratization, Development, and the Patrimonial State in the Age of Globalization*. Lanham, Maryland, USA: Lexington Books.
- Burke, P.J. & Stets, J.E. (2009). "Identity Theory. New York: Oxford University Press.p.3-17.
- Cammack, D. (2007). The Logic of African Patrimonialism: What Role for Donors?. *Development Policy Review* Vol., 25 (5), p.599-614.<<https://www.uio.no/studier/emner/sv/statsvitenskap/STV4347B/v10/Cammack%202007.pdf>> (Accessed 29 July, 2019).
- Call, C.T. & Cook, S.E. (2003). On Democratization and Peacebuilding. *Global Governance*, Vol., 1 (9), p.232-246. Brill.
- Cammack, D., Golooba-Mutebi, F., Kanyongolo, F & O'Neil, T. (2007). *Neopatrimonial Politics, Decentralization, and Local Government: Uganda and Malawi in 2006*. ODI Working Paper No. 2. London, UK: Overseas Development Institute.
- Campbell, S. (2011). "Routine Learning? How Peacebuilding Organizations Prevent Liberal Peace," in S. Campbell, D. Chandler & M. Sabaratnam (eds.) *A Liberal Peace? The Problems and Practices of Peacebuilding*.p.89-102.
- Capoccia, G. (2016). "Critical Juncture" in O. Fioretos, T.G. Falleti & A. Sheingate (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Cederman, L., Wimmer, A., & Min, B. (2010). Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis. *World Politics*. Vol., 62 (1), p 87-119. Cambridge University Press.
- Chetail, V. (2009). Introduction: Post Conflict Peacebuilding-Ambiguity and Identity," in V. Chetail (eds.) *Post Conflict Peacebuilding*. A Lexicon.US: Oxford University Press.
- Clapham, C. (1982). *Private Patronage and the Public Power: Political Clientelism in the Modern State*. London, UK: Frances Pinter.
- (1985). *Third World Politics. An Introduction*. Madison, Wisconsin, USA: The University of Wisconsin Press. p.45-59.
- Clark, J.F. (2002). Resource Revenue and Political Development in Sub-Sahara Africa Congo Republic in Comparative Perspectives. *Africa Spectrum*. Vol., 37 (1), p.25-41. Hamburg, Germany: Institute of African Affairs, German Institute of Global and Area Studies.
- Cohen, A. (1969). *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, USA: University of California Press.
- Collins, C. (1995). "Ethno-regionalism and the Prospects for Democratization in Zaire," in H. Glickman (ed.) *Democratization and Ethnic Conflict in Africa*. Atlanta, USA: ASA Press.
- Cousens, E.M. (2001). "Introduction," in E.M. Cousens, C. Kumar & K. Wermester (eds.) *Peacebuilding as Politics. Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Publishers.p.1-20.
- Crook, R. (1997). Winning Coalitions and Ethnoregional Politics: The Failure of the Opposition in the 1990 and 1995 Elections in Cote D'ivoire. *African Affairs*. Vol., 96 (383). p.215-242. <<http://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.afraf.a007826>> (Accessed 20 July, 2019).
- De-Bruijne, K. (2019). Sierra Leone: The New Government's Tense Struggle for Control a Year On. <<https://africanarguments.org/2019/04/18/protests-walk-outs-inquiries-sierra-leone-politics-simmers/>> . (Accessed 14 July, 2019).
- DeGrassi, A. (2008). "Neopatrimonialism" and Agricultural Development in Africa" Contributions and Limitation of a Contested Concept. *African Studies Review*. Vol., 51 (3), p107-133. Cambridge University Press. (Accessed 24 July, .2019).
- Deny, F. M. (1997). Ethnicity: An African Predicament. *Brookings Review*, Vol., 15 (3), p.28-31.
- Denny, L. (2009). Sierra Leone: Wave of Violence or Wake-up Call? Pambazuka News. <<https://www.pambazuka.org/governance/sierra-leone-wave-violence-or-wake-call>>(Accessed 14 July, 2019).
- Diamond, L. (1999). *Developing Democracy. Towards Consolidation*. Baltimore, Maryland, USA: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dumbuya, P.A. (2008). *Reinventing the Colonial State. Constitutionalism, One-Party Rule, and Civil War in Sierra Leone*. New York, USA: iUniverse, Inc.
- Eisenstadt, S. N. (1973). *Traditional Patrimonialism and Modern Neopatrimonialism*. Beverly Hills California/London: Sage Publications. Sage Research Paper in Social Sciences, Ser., no.90-003.Studies in Comparative Modernization Series.
- Eisenstadt, S.N., & Lemarchand, R. (1981). *Political Clientelism, Patronage and Development*. London, UK: Sage.
- Elischer, S. (2013). *Political Parties in Africa. Ethnicity and Party Formation*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.

- Erdmann, G. (2013). "Neopatrimonialism and Political Regimes," in N. Cheeseman, D. M. Anderson & A. Scheibler (eds.) Routledge Handbook of African Politics. New York, USA: Routledge.
- European Union Elections Observation Mission Report (2007). Sierra Leone, Presidential and Parliamentary First and Second Round Elections. <http://www.eods.eu/library/FR%20SIERRA%20LEONE%202007_en.pdf>. (Accessed 10 July, 2019).
- Fearon, J. D. (1999). What is Identity. (As We Now Use the Word). Department of Political Science, Stanford University. <<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=C38AE0010B421AC931D73D97E602B719?doi=10.1.1.312.8526&rep=rep1&type=pdf>> (Accessed 27 May, 2019).
- Fearon, J.D. & Laitin, D.D. (2000). Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. International Organization Vol. 54 (4). The OI Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Retrieved from: <<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=C38AE0010B421AC931D73D97E602B719?doi=10.1.1.312.8526&rep=rep1&type=pdf>> (Accessed 27 May, 2019).
- Freedom House Report (2018). Sierra Leone Profile. Freedom in the World 2018. Retrieved from: <<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/sierra-leone>> (Accessed 5 June, 2019).
- Fridy, K.S., & M'Cormack-Hale, F.A.O. (2011). Sierra Leone's 2007 Elections: Monumental & More of the Same. African Studies Quarterly, Vol.,12 (4).
- Futamura, M., Newman, E., & Shahrbanou, T. (2010). Towards a Human Security Approach to Peacebuilding. Research Brief. No.,1. Tokyo, Japan: Institute of Sustainability and Peace. United Nations University.
- Fukuyama, F. (2004). Statebuilding: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century. Ithaca, USA: Cornell University Press.
- (2018). Identity: Contemporary Identity Politics and the Struggle for Recognition. Profile Books Ltd.
- Fyfe, C. (1962). A History of Sierra Leone. London, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Gabriel, J.M. (1999). Cameroon's Neopatrimonial Dilemma. Journal of African Studies. Vol., 17 (2), p. 173-196. DOI: 10.1080/02589009908729646.
- Gbla, O. (2007). "Security Sector Reform Under International Tutelage in Sierra Leone," in M. Brzoska & D. Law (eds.) Security Sector Reconstruction and Reform in Peace Operations. New York, USA: Routledge. p. 67-68.
- Gberie, L. (2003). Review Article: ECOMOG: The Story of an Heroic Failure. African Affairs. Vol., 102 (406). Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society, p.147-154. DOI: 10.1093/afraf/adg010.
- (2005). A Dirty War in West Africa. The RUF and the Destruction of Sierra Leone. Bloomington, Indiana, USA: Indiana University Press.
- Gellner, E. (1983). Nations and Nationalism. USA. Cornell University Press.
- (2006) Nations and Nationalism. Second Edition. Blackwell Publishing.
- Ginty, M.R. (2010). Hybrid Peace: The Interaction Between Top Down and Bottom Up Peace. Vol.41(4), pp.391-412. SAGE Publications.
- (2011). International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid form of Peace. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ginty, R.C. & Richmond, O. (2013). The Local Turn in Peace Building. A Critical Agenda for Peace. Third World Quarterly, 34 (5). pp763-783.
- Ginty, R.M & Richmond, O.P. (2007). Myth and Reality: Opposing Views on the Liberal Peace and Post War Reconstruction. Vol, 21(4). Global Society.
- Glennerster, R., Miguel, E., & Rothenberg, A, D (2013). Collective Action in Diverse Sierra Leone Communities. The Economic Journal 123. Oxford, UK: John Wiley and Sons. p.285-316.
- (2013). "Myth and Reality: Opposing Views on the Liberal Peace and Post War Reconstruction," (eds.) The Liberal Peace and Post War Reconstruction: Myth and reality. London. Routledge.
- Green, E. (2017). Ethnicity, National Identity and the State. Evidence from Sub-Sahara Africa. British Journal of Political Science. p.1-23. DOI: 10.1017/S0007123417000783.
- Governance Transition Team Report (2018). Republic of Sierra Leone, Office of the President. <<https://www.thesierraleonetelegraph.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Sierra-Leone-Governance-Transition-Team-Final-Report.pdf>> . (Accessed 11 July, 2019).
- Hall, P. A & Taylor, R.C,R. (1996). Political Science and the Three New Institutionalism: Paper presented at Public Lecture: MPIFG Discussion Paper 96/6. ISSN 0944-2073. p.9-10.: <https://www.mpifg.de/pu/mpifg_dp/dp96-6.pdf> (Accessed 15 May, 2019).
- Hall, P.A. (2016). "Politics as a Process Structured in Space and Time," in O. Fioretos, T.G. Falleti, & A. Sheingate (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Hochschild, J. L. (2006). "How Ideas Affect Actions," in R.E. Goodin & C. Tilly (eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political

- Analysis. New York, USA: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Hoove, L. T. & Scholtabach, A.P. (2008). *Democracy and Political Party Assistance in Post-Conflict Societies*. Hague, Netherlands: Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy.
- Horowitz, D.L. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, California, USA: California University Press.
- (1991). *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. Berkeley & Los Angeles, California, USA: California University Press.
- (1993). The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict: Democracy in Divided States. *Journal of Democracy*. Vol., 4 (4). John Hopkins University Press. DOI: 1353/jod.1993.0054.
- Human Development Report (1994). United Nations Development Programme. New York, USA: Oxford University Press. <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf> (Accessed 15 July, 2019).
- Ibrahim, J. (2000). "The Transformation of Ethno-Regional Identities in Nigeria," in A. Jega (ed.) *Identity Transformation and Identity Politics Under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria*, Uppsala, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, p.41-57.
- Ilorah, R. (2009). Ethnic Bias, Favouritism and Development in Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, p.695-707. DOI: 10.1080/03768350903303209.
- Jackson, R.H. (1990). *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*. Cambridge, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Jan, A (2001). "Somalia: Building Sovereignty or Restoring Peace," in E.M. Cousens, C. C. Kumar & K. Wermester (eds.) *Peacebuilding as Politics. Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*: Boulder, Colorado, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. p. 53-84.
- Kaldor, M. (2006). Evaluation of United Nations Development Programme Assistance to Conflict Affected Countries. Case Study, Sierra Leone. New York, USA: <<http://web.undp.org/evaluation/documents/thematic/conflict/SierraLeone.pdf>>. (Accessed 20 June, 2019).
- (2012). *New and Old Wars: organized Violence in a Global Era*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Kandeh, J. D. (1992). Politicization of Ethnic Identities in Sierra Leone. *African Studies Review*, Vol., 35 (1). p.81-99. Cambridge University Press. (Accessed 8 August, 2019).
- (1998). Transitions Without Rupture: Sierra Leone's Transfer Election of 1996. *African Studies Review*. Vol., 41(2), p.91-111. Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.2307/524828.
- (2003). Sierra Leone's Post-conflict Elections 2002. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Vol. 1(2). Cambridge University Press.
- Kashima, Y. (2004). Culture, Essentials and Agency: Are Individuals Universally believed to be More Real Entities than Group? *European Journal of Social Psychology*. Vol.35. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. p. 147-169.
- Keen, D. (2005). *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*. New York, USA: James Currey Ltd. p.16-17.
- Keese, A. (2016). *Ethnicity and the Colonial State: Finding and Representing Group Identification in a Costal Western African and Global Perspective., 1850-1960*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publishers, p.2-3.
- Kpundeh, S. (1995). *Politics and Corruption in Africa. A case Study of Sierra Leone*. Lanham, Maryland, USA: University Press of America, Inc.
- Kumar, C. (2001). "Peacebuilding in Haiti," in E.M Cousens, C. Kumar & K. Wermester (eds.) *Peacebuilding as Politics. Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*: Boulder, Colorado, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. p. 53-84.
- Linberg, S.I., & Morrison, M.K.C. (2008). Are African Voters Really Ethnic or Clientelistic? Survey Evidence from Ghana. *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol., 123 (1). p.95-122. The Academy of Political Science. (Accessed 25 July, 2019).
- Luke, D.F. (1988). Continuity in Sierra Leone: From Stevens to Momoh. *The World Quarterly*, Vol., 10 (1), p.67-78. Taylor & Francis, Ltd.
- Mahoney, J. (2000). Path Dependent in Historical Sociology. Vol. 29 (4). *Theory and Society*. Springer. <<http://webarchiv.ethz.ch/soms/teaching/OppFall09/MahoneyPathDependence.pdf>>. (Accessed 10 May, 2019).
- Mamdani, M. (2001). Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Vol.,43 (4), p.651-664. Cambridge University Press.
- Mansaray, I.S. (2018). Is Sierra Leone Really Divided? Sierra Leone Telegraph Online News <<https://www.thesierraleonetelegraph.com/is-sierra-leone-really-divided/>> . (Accessed 13 July, 2019).
- Massing, A.W. (1985). The Mane, the Decline of Mali, and Mandika Expansion Towards the South Windward Coast. Vol. 25. pp.21-55. <https://www.persee.fr/doc/AsPDF/cea_0008-0055_1985_num_25_97_2184.pdf> (Accessed 25 May 25, 2019).
- Melvem, L. (2015). "United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda II (UNAMIR II)," in J.A. Koops, N. Macqueen, T. Tardy & P.D. Williams (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*. UK: Oxford University Press.

- Mozaffar, S., & Scarritt, J. S. (2013). "Why Territorial Autonomy is not a Viable Option for Managing Ethnic Conflict," in W. Safran & R. Maiz (eds.) *Identities and Territorial Action in Plural Societies*, New York, USA: Routledge.
- Mustapha, M., & Bangura, J.J. (2010). "Introduction," in M. Mustapha & J.J. Bangura (eds.) *Sierra Leone Beyond the Lome Peace Accords*. New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan.p.4-7.
- National Democratic Institute Report (2007). *Sierra Leone's 2007 Elections*. Washington, DC, USA: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. <https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/NDI_Final_Report_on_2007_Sierra_Leone_Elections.pdf> .(Accessed, 10 July, 2019).
- National Electoral Commission (2019) Press Statement. <http://necsl.org/PDF/News/Ward_99_kam.pdf> & <<http://necsl.org/PDF/Media/DECLARATION-WARD-257-PORT%20LOKO%20DISTRICT.pdf>> (Accessed 14 July, 2019).
- Newman, E. (2009). "Liberal" Peacebuilding Debates," in E. Newman, R. Paris & O. P. Richmond (eds.) *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding*. Tokyo, Japan: United Nation University, p. 49-50.
- Newman, S. (1996). *Ethnoregional Conflict in Democracies. Mostly Ballots, Rarely Bullets*. WestPoint, Connecticut, USA: Greenwood Press. p.1-3.
- Ngomba, T. (2012). "Ethno-Regionalism and the Governance of Challenge in Africa: Lesson (Again) From Ivory Coast." *Governance and Ethnicity in Africa*. Vol, 14 (3) *At Issue, Ezine, AfricaFiles*.p.8-13.
- Nkwi, W.G. (2006). *Elites, Ethno-Regional Competition in Cameroon, and the Southwest Elites Association (SWELA), 1991-1997*. *African Study Monographs*., Vol., 25 (3), p.123-143. Kyoto University Research Information Repository.
- Norris, P., & Mattes, R. (2003). Does Ethnicity Determine Support for the Governing Party? The Structural and attitudinal Basis of Partisan Identification in 12 African Nations. Paper Presented, "Ethnicity Matters," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Saturday 30, 2003.
- Nyallay, M.J. (2019). Analysis: APC, NGC Elections Boycott, A Blessing for SLPP but a Blot on Democracy. Politico Online News, FreeMedia Group. <<http://politicosl.com/articles/analysis-apc-ngc-elections-boycott-blessing-slpp-blot-democracy>>. (Accessed 9 July, 2019).
- Oman, C.R., Wignaraja, G. (1991). *The Post War Evolution of Development Thinking*. London: Macmillan Academic and Professionals Ltd.
- Ose, J. (2018) *The World's Ten Hungriest Countries*: <<https://www.concernusa.org/story/hungriest-countries/>> (Accessed 11 May, 2019).
- Ozerdem, A., & Lee, S. (2016). *International Peacebuilding: An Introduction*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Patriotic Vanguard (2007). Full List of Cabinet Ministers and their Deputies. <<http://www.thepatrioticvanguard.com/full-list-of-cabinet-ministers-and-their-deputies>> . (Accessed 10 July, 2019).
- Parliament of Sierra Leone (2008). *A Directory of the Parliament of Sierra Leone, 2007-2012*. <https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/2266_sl_directory_parliament_0.pdf>. <<http://www.electionpassport.com/files/SL/2007-12Maps.pdf>> (Accessed 08 July, 2019).
- Peters, K. (2011). *War and the Crisis of Youth in Sierra Leone*. London. Cambridge University Press.
- Phinney, J.S. (2000). *Identity Formation Across Cultures. The Interaction of Personal, Societal and Historical Change*. *Human Development*, 43 (1), p.27-31.
- Pierson, P. (2000). Increasing Returns, Path dependence and the Study of Politics. *American Political Renew*, Vol 94 (2). American Political Science Association. p.251-267.
- Pitcher, A., Moran, M.H., & Johnston, M. (2009). *Rethinking Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism in Africa*. *Africa Studies Review*. Vol., 52 (1), p.125-156. Cambridge University Press.
- Pring, C., Vrushu, J. (2019). *Global Corruption Barometer Africa, 2019. Citizens' Views & Experience of Corruption*. TransparencyInternational-Afrobarometer. <https://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Joint/partner%20publications/ab_r7_global_corruption_barometer_report.pdf> . (Accessed 28 July, 2019).
- Ragin, C.C. (1992). Introduction. Cases of "What is a case," in C.C. Ragin & H.S. Becker (Eds.) *What Is A Case? Exploring the Foundation of Social Inquiry*. UK. Cambridge University Press.p.1-16.
- Raleigh, C. (2014). Political Hierarchies and Landscapes of Conflict Across Africa. Vol., 42. p.92-103. *Political Geography*. Elsevier Ltd. <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2014.07.002>>. (Accessed 26 July, 2019).
- Renner, K.L. (1989). *Neopatrimonialism: The Politics of Military Rule in Chile, 1973-1987*. *Comparative Politics*, Vol., 21(2), p.149-170. The City University of New York.
- Reno, W. (1995). *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone*. Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge.
- Richmond, O.P. (2005). *The Transformation of Peace*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Richmond, O.P., & Franks, J. (20009). *Liberal Peace Transitions. Between Statebuilding and Peacebuilding*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press LTD.
- Rodney, W. (1967). A Reconsideration of the Mane Invasion of Sierra Leone. *The Journal of African History*. Vol.8 (2). Cambridge University Press. p. 219-246.
- (1970). *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800*. Monthly Review press. New York, US: Oxford University Press.
- Saffa, V. (2015) Agricultural Minister Launches National Youth Farm. *Concord Times*.
 <<http://slconcordtimes.com/agric-minister-launches-national-youth-farm/>> (Accessed 15 June, 2019).
- Schmitter, P. C. (2007). Political Accountability in “Real-Existing” Democracies: Meaning and Mechanisms. Italy, European University Institute.
- Shinoda, H. (2004) The Concept of Human Security: Historical and Theoretical Implications. IPSHU English Research Report Series, No 19. Conflict and Human Security. A Search for New Approaches of Peacebuilding. <<https://home.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/heiwa/Pub/E19/chap1.pdf>>. (Accessed 14 July, 2019).
- (2012a). The Principle of Local Ownership as a Bridge Between International and Domestic Actors in Peacebuilding. Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University. <<https://home.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/heiwa/Pub/E27/e27shinoda.pdf>> (Accessed 15 June, 2019).
- (2012b). The Sierra Leone Model of Peacebuilding? The Principle of Local Society’s Ownership and Liberal Democracy in Africa. Hiroshima, Japan: Institute of Peace and Science, Hiroshima University. <<https://home.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/heiwa/Pub/E27/e27shinoda.pdf>> (Accessed 6 July, 2019).
- Sierra Leone Public Document (1991). The Constitution of Sierra Leone-1991.
- Sjogren, A. (2015). Territorializing Identity, Authority and Conflict in Africa: An Introduction. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*., Vol., 33 (2), p.163-170.
- Sierra Leone Audit Service Report (2003). Accounts of Sierra Leone for the Year 2003. Vol.1 <<https://www.audit-service.gov.sl/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/assl-auditor-general-annual-report-2003.pdf>>. (Accessed 16 July, 2019).
- (2007). Accounts for Sierra Leone for the Year 2004-2005. Vol.1. <<https://www.audit-service.gov.sl/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/assl-auditor-general-annual-report-2004-2005.pdf>>. (Accessed 16 July, 2019).
- (2008). Audit Service Sierra Leone Report 2008. <<https://www.audit-service.gov.sl/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/assl-auditor-general-annual-report-2008.pdf>>. (Accessed 16 July, 2019).
- (2013). Auditor General’s Annual Report of 2012. <<https://www.audit-service.gov.sl/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/assl-auditor-general-annual-report-2012.pdf>>. (Accessed 16 July, 2019).
- Sierra Leone Audit Service Report (2014). Report on the Audit Management of the Management of Ebola Funds.p.6-7. <<https://www.audit-service.gov.sl/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/assl-report-on-ebola-funds-management-may-oct-2014.pdf>> (Accessed 13 July, 2019).
- Sierra Leone Human Development Report (2007). Empowering Local Government for Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction. <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/sierraleone_nhdr_20071.pdf>. (Accessed 10 July, 2019).
- Sierra Leone Web- Presidential elections, First and Second Rounds, 2007. <<http://www.sierra-leone.org/election2007.html>> .(Accessed 6 July, 2019).
- Smith, A.D. (1986). *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Statistics Sierra Leone Report (2017). Sierra Leone Population and Housing Census. National Analytical Report. p.8. Retrieved from: <<https://www.statistics.sl/index.php/resources/publications.html>> (Accessed 16 May, 2019).
- Stinchcombe, A.L. (1968). Constructing Social Theories. New York, US: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc, p.101-103.
- Synder, R. (1992). Explaining Transition from Neopatrimonial Dictatorship. *Comparative Politics*, Vol., 24 (4), p.379-339. Published by Ph.D. program in Political Science, City University of New York. (Accessed 3 August, 2019).
- Tadjbakhsh, S. (2011). “Introduction: Liberal Peace in Dispute.” *Rethinking the Liberal Peace: External Model and Local Alternatives*. New York: Routledge, p.1-4.
- Tardy, T. (2015). “United Nations Missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH),” in J.A. Koops, N. Macqueen, T. Tardy & P.D. Williams (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*. UK: Oxford University Press.
- Thelen, K. (2003). “How Institutions Evolve: Insights from Comparative Historical Analysis,” in J. Mahoney & D. Rueschmeyer (eds.) *Comparative historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press. p.226-228.
- The Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2002), Chapter One: Mandate of The Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Vol., 1. <http://sierraleonetruec.org/index.php/view-report-text-vol-1/item/vol-one-chapter-one?category_id=19>. (Accessed 15 July, 2019).

- Thomas, N.W. (1920). Who Were the Mane? *Journal of the Royal African Society*. Vol.20 (77). Oxford University Press.p.33-42.
- Tilly, C. (2006). *Regimes and Repertoires*. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.
- Tom, P. (2017). *Liberal Peace and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Africa*, London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- United Nations Document (2000). Report of the Panel of United Nations Peace Operations. Brahimi Report. A/55/305-S/2000/809. <https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/55/305> (Accessed 20 October, 2019).
- United Nations Development programme (2018) Human Development Reports. Retrieved from: <<http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/SLE>> (Accessed 1 July, 2019).
- United Nations Peacebuilding Commission Report (2007) Sierra Leone Peacebuilding Cooperation Framework. UN Document. PBC/2/SLE/1/ <https://unipsil.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/old_dnn/PBCSLE8.pdf> (Accessed 18 June, 2019).
- United Nations Report (2008). Sixth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone. S/2008/281. <<https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/482018e72.pdf>> (Accessed 7 June, 2019).
- United Nations Report (2009). Second report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Sierra Leone. S/2009/267. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/7CAB8009701126A6492575C700106517-Full_Report.pdf>. (Accessed 14 July, 2019).
- Varisco, A.D. (2014). The Influence of Research and Local Knowledge on British-led Security Sector Reform Policy in Sierra Leone, Conflict, Security, and Development. Vol., 14(1), p.89-123. DOI: 10.1080/14678802.2014.88260.
- Visoka, G. (2016). *Peace Figuration After International Intervention. Intentions, Events and Consequences of Liberal Peacebuilding*. New York, USA: Routledge.
- Wai, Z. (2012). Neo-patrimonialism and the Discourse of State Failure in Africa. *Review of Africa Political Economy*. Vol., 39 (131), p 27-43. <https://dx.doi.org/10.80/03056244.2012.658719>.
- (2015). "Elections and the Challenges of Democratization in Sierra Leone," in S. Adejumo (ed.) *National Democratic Reforms in Africa: Changes and Challenges*. New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan.p.236.
- Weber, M., Henderson, A.M., & Persons, T. (1947). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York, USA: Oxford University press.
- World Food Programme (2016). New Report Highlights Fragile State of Food Security in Sierra Leone After Ebola Outbreak. <<https://www.wfp.org/news/news-release/new-report-highlights-fragile-state-food-security-sierra-leone-after-ebola-outbreak>> (Accessed 10 July, 2019).
- Wyse, A. (1990). *H.C. Bankole Bright and Politics in Colonial Sierra Leone 1919-1958*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Zack-Williams, A.B (1997). Kamajors, Sobel and the Militant: Civil Society and the Return of the Military in Sierra Leone. *Review of Africa Political Economy*.No.73. ROAPE Publication Ltd. p.373-398.